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THE
MEMOIRS
OF THE
Marq. *de Langallerie* :
Containing an Account
Of the most Secret Intrigues
OF THE
FRENCH, SPANISH, and
BAVARIAN Courts :
And the most Remarkable
Battles, Sieges, and Encampments
IN
Germany, Spain, and Flanders.

Together with the most considerable Treaties
and Alliances made with *France*, from the Year
1687, to the Year 1710.

Intermixt with several Original *Private Letters*
(never before made Publick) written by

The French King,	}	Charles III ^d . of Spain,
Card. Portocarrero,		Prince Eugene,
Duke of Anjou,		D. of Marlborough,
Elect. of Bavaria,		D. of Ormond,
Marquess de Torcy,		M. Auverquerque, &c.

The Second Edition.

Translated from the French, and continued to this present Time

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Round at Seneca's-Head in Exchange-Alley in
Cornhill; N. Cliff at the Golden-Candlestick in Cheap-side;
1710.

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THE
BOOKSELLER
TO THE
READER.

THE ill Usage which our Author has received from the French Court, and the Publick Employments which he has served in for almost Twenty Years together, has on the one hand provoked, and on the other hand, capacitated him to tell such Tales as cannot but sound harsh in her Ministers Ears; but by how much the more unpleasant these Memoirs may be to them, by exposing their secret and unjust Designs against, and their Breach of Publick Faith, leagued from time to time with their Neighbours; by so much the more grateful and pleasing they will certainly be to the impartial

A 2 Reader.





The Bookeller, &c.

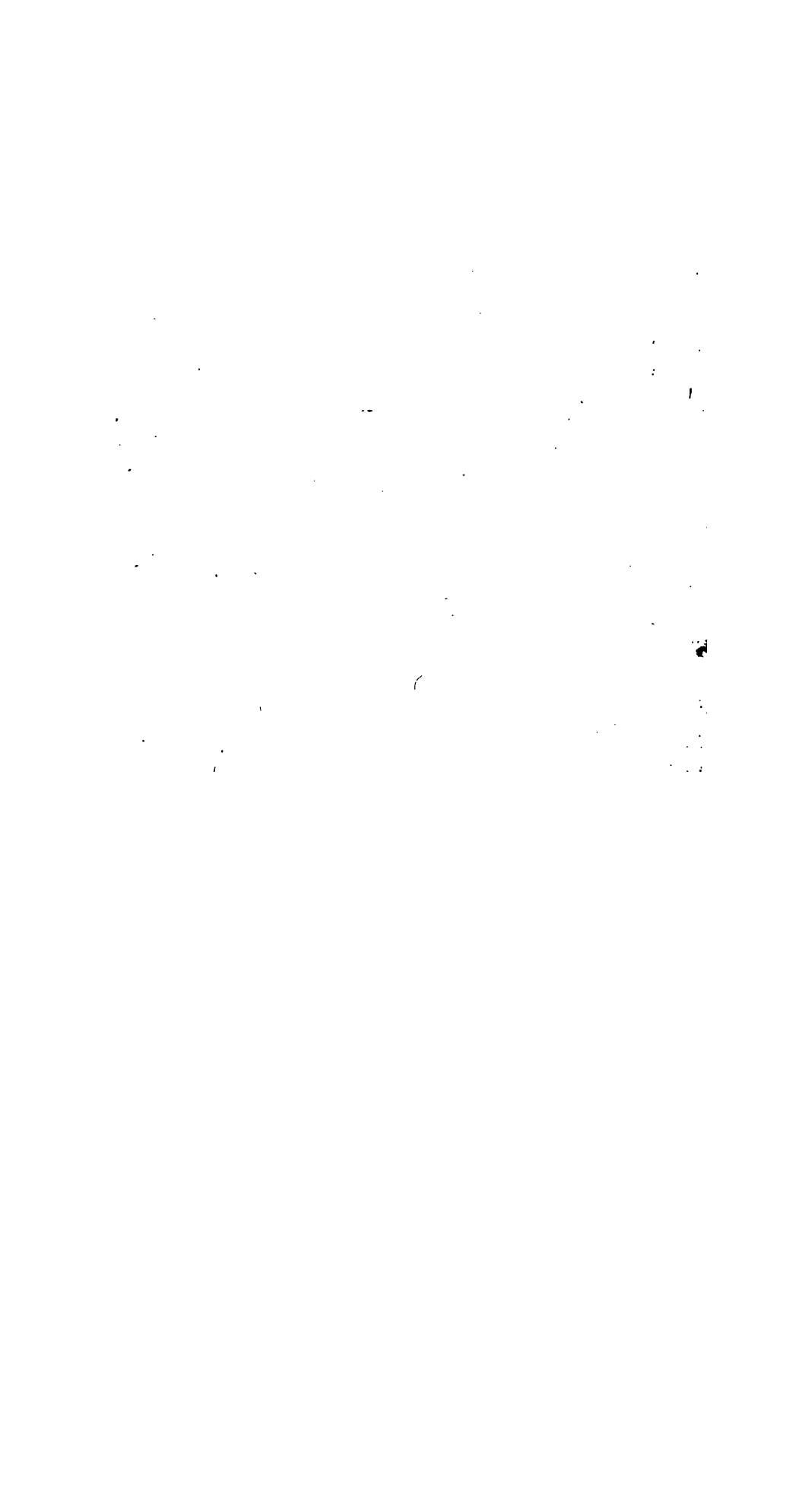
and was in his Service at the Battle of Turin, from thence went to the Imperial Court, &c. was this present Year at the Interview of the Kings of Prussia and Poland, and received Gifts from them according to his Merit, at which time King Augustus ennobled him in his Service. Thus much I thought fit to premise, for the Satisfaction of the Reader; which, I hope, he will kindly receive,

Peter Marteau.

Cologne, Novemb.

28. 1709.

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The M. De L---ry's
M E M O I R S
 OF THE
W A R
 OF
 SPAIN, FLANDERS and
 BAVARIA, &c.

MY design in these Memoirs being to de- 1687.
 tect the secret Intrigues of the *French*,
Spanish and *Bavarian* Courts, so far
 as they relate to the Causes or Manage-
 ment of the present War; I find my
 self obliged to go back even to the beginning of the
 last; because the former War was in some measure
 the cause of this; and the Quiet that *Europe* enjoy'd
 between these two Commotions, served only to
 strengthen and prepare her for a more violent Con-
 flict. I shall therefore begin with the Year 1687, when
 the Powers that are now so furiously contending were
 perfectly at Rest, the Tumults of War almost forgot,
 and nothing but Calmness and Serenity in view;
 then the Court of *France* puffed up with the former
 Progress of her Arms, and the late Advantages ob-
 tained by the Subtlety of Treaties, began to swell
 with Designs and Conspiracies against her Neigh-
 bours: The King reflecting upon his prosperous
 Reign, and observing every Year productive of new
 Acquisitions, observing the Strength and Extent of
 his Dominions, and himself absolute Commander of
 the

1687. the same, inspir'd with Ambition, and a desire of new Glories, began to lay hold upon every Occasion that might contribute to the great End he aim'd at. Two Affairs of the greatest Consequence and Nicety present themselves principally to be undertaken: The first, to make King *James of England* an Allie; or, at least, divert that People by Intestine Jarrs from carrying their Arms abroad; and the other, to crush Pope *Innocent XI.* who appeared an Enemy to *France*: For these Ends the Marquess *de Lavardin* was sent to *Rome*, and ordered to reside there, whilst I, who was one of the Marquess's Attendance thither, was to go privately to the Courts of the other *Italian* Princes, and endeavour to draw them into an Alliance with *France* against the Pope, if his Holiness should refuse the Demands of the *French* Court. The Clergy of *France* had been conven'd by Order of the King, in 1682, to deliberate on some Affairs relating to the Power of the Pope within his Majesty's Dominions, which the Clergy so far decided in favour of the King as to incur the Pope's Displeasure. This was highly resented by his Holiness, in his Letter sent to that Body; and the Franchises of the *French* Ambassadors were order'd to be taken away, as those of other Crowns had been before; which occasioned the King to send a Guard of 150 choice Men with the Marquess, to assist him in maintaining the Possession of the Franchises of his Quarters. The Marquess being arrived at *Rome*, immediately took possession of his Quarters, and shew'd himself resolv'd to defend the same by force of Arms. The Pope, to shew his just Resentments for so great an Affront of having his Authority attack'd in his own Capital, sent an Interdict to the Church of *St. Louis* because it had received the Marquess, refus'd to acknowledge him as Ambassador, and excommunicated him. The Court of *France* being acquainted with these Proceedings, the King sends new Instructions to his Minister, and with them a Letter to his Holiness: The Marquess having received them, communicated 'em to me, saying, That his Majesty having seriously deliberated on the Contest between himself and the Head of the Church, thought it high time to put a stop to the present course of Affairs, lest some evil Accidents should

M E M O I R S.

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should pervert his Designs, and prove prejudicial to the 1687. Catholick Religion : To this End he ordered me to take the King's Letter, desire a particular Audience of his Holiness, and deliver it into his own Hands. When I came there, his Holiness would neither give me Audience, nor receive the King's Letter. This caused his Majesty to write to Cardinal d' *Estree*, complaining against the Pope, and representing the Damage that *Europe* and the Church were like to receive from his Holiness, who opposed the Interest of the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, and embraced that of Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria* to the Electorate and Archbishoprick of *Cologne* : His Majesty further added, that the source of all these Intrigues might be imputed to the Protestant Princes, who had caball'd together against King *James* of *England*, to extirpate the Catholick Religion out of that Kingdom. The Cardinal had no sooner received this Letter, but he communicated it to the rest of his Brethren the Cardinals that were then at *Rome*, and 'twas not long before 'twas made publick. His Holiness being fully convinced of the Designs of *France*, began to be more than ordinary solicitous about his own safety, and soon after had the pleasure of seeing himself very Instrumental in engaging that Monarch in a War, wherein almost all the Princes of *Europe* appeared against him.

This being the posture of Affairs at this time, Instructions from Court came to the Marquess de *Lavaradin* to dispatch me with all imaginable Secrecy to the Courts of *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Tuscany* and *Venice*, in order to negotiate a League of Confederacy between these Princes and his Most Christian Majesty, against *Innocent* XI. Having my self likewise received Letters of Credence from the King, and full Instructions from Court how to behave my self in this Affair ; I departed from *Rome*, first for *Mantua*. Upon my arrival there, that Duke received me with all kind of Honour, and invited me to lodge in the Ducal Palace, where indeed was room enough; since it hath no less than five hundred and fifty Chambers all richly furnished : I beg'd his Highness to permit me to remain there *incognito*, and I took a

1687. Lodging elsewhere. I deliver'd into his own Hand a Letter from the King, which serv'd me as a Letter of Credence.

His Majesty told his Highness, ' That being perswaded by the Bonds of Amity (wherein they had always been mutually oblig'd) of his good Sentiments; doubted not but that he would enter into the Engagements that should on his part be propos'd to his Highness, since they had no other End but the maintaining Peace in *Italy*. I beg'd the Duke to appoint me an Hour wherein I might most conveniently confer with him about this Affair: He answer'd, ' That it must be in the Night, that the Business might be kept Secret, and not reach the Ears of the Nuncio: I will send to you, says he, about midnight a Man that I can trust, who shall conduct you to me. I approv'd of this Expedient, and beg'd his Highness's leave, for the present, to depart.

In the first Conference that I had with that Prince, I laid before him (according to the Instructions I had receiv'd,) the Motives that induc'd the most Christian King to propose a League against Pope *Innocent XI.* which were these; ' That the Pope, since his Advancement to that Dignity, had endeavour'd to introduce Schisms into the Church, which were likely to open a Gate to Heresie, if Affairs were not better regulated: That his Most Christian Majesty could not, without extream Grief, after all the Care that he had taken to root out the *Hugonets* of *France*, see a Pope which declar'd himself openly their Protector: That that Pontiff had writ several Letters which had been intercepted, wherein it evidently appeared, that he kept secret Intelligence with several Protestant Princes: That he would take an occasion, in a short time, to declare himself openly against the most Christian King, because he was the most zealous Defender of the Catholick Interest: That besides such Undertakings that would undermine the Foundations of the *Roman Church*, *Innocent XI.* incroach'd upon the Temporals of Kings; his late Bull, wherein he divested the Ambassadors of Crown'd Heads of their Franchises at *Rome*, was a fresh proof thereof: That the Liberties of the *French Church*, which their

their Predecessors, time without mind had enjoy'd, 1687, could no longer be defended but by force of Arms, against a Pope who is the only one that ever before contested them: That his Most Christian Majesty, to prevent the growing Evils which might hereafter afflict the Church, (in which Affair *Italy* had the most considerable part) had formed a design of proposing a League, Offensive and Defensive, to all the *Italian* Princes: That he would engage himself to the whole expence of a War so just, that he might give the clearest proofs of his Affection and Zeal for the Church: That this League should no longer continue then the Reduction of Pope *Innocent* to the just Bounds of his Predecessors; That it was not the first time that the Kings of *France* had made War against the Popes, and had brought them to Reason, tho' indeed his Majesty could not make use of these Extremes, without the most sensible Regret: That he had in all filial Obedience endeavour'd to persuade his Holiness to a more wholesome and more moderate Behaviour: That his Ambassador at *Rome* had used all possible Gentleness and Softness, to persuade him to Reason, but without the least Effect.

To bring the Duke to conclude a Treaty, which by his example might be of service to me at the Courts of other Princes: I told him, That the Republick of *Venice*, the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, had already promis'd to enter into the same Engagements, and that I had Orders on the part of his Majesty to offer him a Subsidy of ——— Livres per Month, which should be paid him so long as the Treaty should continue. As that Prince was swallowed up in the Abyss of Luxury and Pleasure, which engag'd him in a greater Expence than his Revenues could support; I believed the Subsidy would make a greater impression on his Mind than any thing else that I could offer upon the part of the Court; and indeed it was so far effectual, as to prevail upon him to Conclude and Sign the Treaty soon after.

The Treaty was no sooner Sign'd but I dispatch'd an Express to the Marquis de *Lavardin* at *Rome*, with a Copy of the same; I was oblig'd to keep the Original to make use of at other Courts: And now pre-

1687. paying for my Journey to the Duke of *Parma*, I could not with satisfaction leave *Mantua* before I had visited the place where the two celebrated Poets *Virgil* and *Tasso* were born; from thence my Curiosity led me to the finest Churches and other Buildings that were most Remarkable, and coming to the Cathedral at the time of Divine Service, I saw there a Passage that hath ever since made so great an impression on my Mind, that I cannot forbear relating it here.

I saw a Man in Habit not inferior to a Marquess of the first Distinction; he had on a Scarlet Cloak embroider'd with Gold and Silver, a large light Wigg, and Linnen charmingly fine: His splendid appearance engag'd me particularly to survey him, but the uneasiness of my Gentleman, who had plac'd himself amongst the Ladies, frequently shifting from one place to another, (and perhaps indeed the Pleasure that I had in viewing the Fair Sex,) diverted my Eyes from the Altar, and my Thoughts from Heaven, to regard the Affairs that were transacting here. At last I found this glittering Beau upon his Knees, close to a Lady that for her Beauty and the Richness of her Habit distinguish'd her self from all others in the Church; this grateful Object was no small addition to my regards on that side. The Man thrusts out of his Cloak two artificial Hands, lifting them and his Eyes up towards Heaven, with as much appearance of Zeal and Devotion as could have been perform'd by a Saint; but whilst the Wooden Hands were employ'd in Divine Service, the Hands of Flesh softly thrust out of the Cloak, were used in cutting off the Lady's Pocket: The Business being done, the Wooden Hands, forgetful of their Devotion, slide again under the covering of the Cloak: My Gentleman having his Petitions already answer'd to his Heart's desire, was unwilling to detain himself longer than was necessary from his Worldly Affairs, rises from his Knees, and marches off. Mass being ended, I returned to my Lodging, and the next day, left *Mantua*, to go to the Court of the Duke of *Parma*.

Being arrived there, I found the Duke in his Palace, and presented to him the Letter I had for him from the King, which gave an account of the Subject of my Negotiation. His Majesty observed therein, 'That altho'

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the Dukes of *Parma* had their Advancement originally from the Holy See, he was yet perswaded that his Highness would not be forgetful of the Good Offices that his House had received from the Kings of *France*, his Predecessors; nor of the Cares that he himself had taken to prevail with his Holiness to restore to him the Countries of *Castro* and *Rossigliano*, which he had been a long time dispossessed of: That these Considerations would undoubtedly incline him to enter into the Engagements that should be propos'd to him against Pope *Innocent XI.* whose boundless Ambition was like to draw fatal Consequences upon the Catholick Religion, and the Peace of *Italy*: That his Highness having the same Interest as other Neighbouring Princes, in an Affair wherein their Religion and mutual Conservation was concern'd, ought not to scruple to embrace the Cause to which he was invited.

I had some particular Conferences with that Prince and his Ministers, to whom I made the like Remonstrances as I had done to the Duke of *Mantua*, and to over-balance the Affair that seem'd to hang in suspense, I finish'd my Discourse with a Subsidy of ——— Livres per Month, which the King offer'd to make him, to commence on the day of the Ratification of the Treaty: Many days past over before I could see an end to this Negotiation.

At last, the Duke of *Parma* seeing the Duke of *Mantua* had Sign'd the Treaty, took up a Resolution to do the same: I gave the Marquess de *Lavardin* advice thereof; after which I departed from *Parma* to go to the Court of the Duke of *Modena*, deliver'd that Prince his Majesty's Letter, as I had done to the other Princes before. His Majesty writ to him, 'That having embraced the Interest of King *James II.* of *England*, who had Married a Princess of his House, he perswaded himself that an Union of the same Interest would prevail with his Highness to enter into a Treaty that would be offer'd him on his part.

I had several Conferences with this Prince; I represented to him the same Motives that I had done to the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Parma*: I vow, says he, that Pope *Innocent XI.* has acted very ill against the King,

1687. but to engage my self in an open War against the Head of the Church, is an Affair that requires a serious Consideration, tho' I beg his Majesty to believe, that I have all imaginable Respect for him.

As that Prince seem'd to be of a Character different from the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Parma*, I thought it necessary to offer an Augmentation of the Subsidy, and told him, ' That the King had order'd me to tender him a Subsidy of — Livres per Month, so long as the Treaty should continue. This Proposition had some influence upon him, and to draw him over effectually, I drew the Original Treaties concluded with the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Parma* out of my Pocket, which I desired him to peruse; I beg'd Secrecy upon the particular of the Subsidy that the King offer'd him: His Highness, led by the example of these Princes, and charmed with the powers of the Subsidy, dropt his former Scruples, and chearfully complied with the Treaty propos'd to him.

The Treaty being Sign'd, I communicated the same to the *French* Court, and afterwards received a Letter from Monsieur de *Louvois*, who approv'd of my Conduct, and told me, that the King was very well pleased with all the Steps that I had made, adding, that I should hasten with all Expedition to *Florence*.

The Great Duke of *Tuscany* is reputed one of the Richest and most Powerful Princes of *Italy*, able, at any time, to bring into the Field 4000 Horse, and 32000 Foot, to put to Sea 20 Men of War and 14 Gallies: 'Tis said he has at least 26 Millions of Gold in his Treasury, without mentioning his ordinary Revenues, which are very considerable, so that his Alliance was very necessary to the King.

At my arrival at *Florence* I understood that his Highness was gone to *Pertolino*, one of his Country Seats. I went immediately thither, believing that our Negotiations would be more private there than at *Florence*. Monsieur de *Louvois*, with his Letter to me at *Modena*, sent me a Letter from the King to the Duke, which I deliver'd to his Highness; it contain'd in Substance, ' That his Majesty had a very great Esteem for a Prince, who by his Strength and the extent of his Country, was of the first Rank in *Italy*: That he

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was fully perswaded that he would enter into a Treaty which so nearly concerned him; since the only end of it was to maintain the Catholick Religion and Peace in *Italy*: That as to farther Particulars, the Person that should deliver him that Letter would perfectly inform him.

The Duke, in my presence, read over several times the King's Letter, and from an Air Gay and Merry, sunk into a Serious and Thoughtful Posture, which I fear'd was no good Omen, and in truth I was not deceived: For, having related Matters to him as I had done to the Princes in my former Negotiations, and likewise made an offer of a Subsidy: He told me, That he would consult his Ministers and give me an Answer in a few days. In the mean time, that I might leave him more to his Liberty, and also conceal my own Business, I returned to *Florence*, and there impatiently waited the success of my Negotiations.

Four days after I left the Duke he returned to *Florence*, and invited me to his Palace, in order to give me an Answer, as he had promis'd. The Honours that he heapt upon me, and the welcome Receptions that he made me, shew'd all imaginable Respect to the King: He regal'd me two days together with very great Magnificence, shew'd me his Riches, and the Rarities of his Palace, and, at last, presented me with his Picture enrich'd with Jewels; but all this did not satisfy me, nor promise any good to the Interest of *France*, and his Answer confirm'd my Sentiments: He told me, That the Engagements he lay under to the Holy See did at present so far oblige him, that he perswaded himself that his Majesty would consider it as to excuse him from entering into a Treaty, directly or indirectly, that should any way regard the Court of *Rome*. I reply'd, That he was the only Prince in *Italy* that would refuse it: I shew'd him the Treaties that I had concluded with the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Parma* and *Modena*: He cast an Eye upon their Hands that appear'd under them, and told me, That those Princes might use their Pleasure; their Interest, in respect to the Holy See, being quite different from his. I took leave of his Highness, and finding that I was able to do nothing more in this

Affair,

1687. Affair, I advis'd the Court of *France* and the Marquess de *Lavardin* at *Rome* of my fruitless Negotiations, and so departed for *Venice*.

Arriving at *Venice* I soon obtain'd Audience from the Doge, and presented him the King's Letter, which contain'd in Substance, ' That the ardent Zeal which ' that most Serene Republick had always shewn to ' the Interest of the Church, had engaged him to propose a Treaty of Alliance with it, against Pope ' *Innocent* XI. who had declar'd himself the Protector of Hereticks: That this Treaty not only tended to ' the security of Peace in *Italy*, but to chase away ' the *Hugonet* Heresie, which was likely to be introduced therein, and even supported by force of Arms ' by the Duke of *Savoy*. That his Majesty doubted ' not but that so powerful a Republick, whose great ' Wisdom had upon all Occasions shone forth, especially when the Interest of the Church was concern'd, ' would concur with him in the maintenance of so ' good a Cause. That as to other Particulars, the ' Person who had the Care of these Negotiations, ' would, on his part, render them a fuller Account.

The Doge having heard what I had to relate, told me, ' That he would acquaint the Senate with the ' Intentions of the King. Whilst these things were transacting, I received a Letter from the Marquess de *Louvois* full of Resentment against the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, upon his refusal to sign the Treaty: He likewise advis'd me to keep it secret, least the Senate should thereby become the more obstinate; he added, ' That I should only make use of those Treaties that ' were sign'd by other Princes, and not so much as ' discover my having been at *Florence*: I had several Conferences with the Senate, to whom I made use of all the Arguments that had been serviceable to me at other Courts. But the painful endeavours that I labour'd under at *Venice*, serv'd only to convince me, that I had a very nice Affair to negotiate, and that likewise with the most subtle Government in the World.

To be short, I had the mortification to see my Designs baffled; by the opposition of two Senators, which I shall not name for Reasons that will be seen hereafter.

hereafter. These two Senators had receiv'd advice from 1687. the Great Duke of what pass'd at *Florence*, (in which that Prince acted ill, since I desir'd his Secrecy.) Their Sentiments prevail'd upon all the Members of the Senate, who at last plainly told me, 'That they could not enter into any Engagemēt with the Most Christian King against the Holy See.

This ill Success added to the Chagrin which my repulse at *Florence* brought upon me, embitter'd all the grateful Tasts of my first Negotiations. I gave the Court an account of my ill success, and carried it my self to the Marquess de Lavardin at *Rome*, where I found his Excellency perplex'd more than ever with that Court; and the *French* Gentlemen that attended him there, as much entangled in their Amours with the Ladies of the Town. Love is truly like Religion, thrives the better for Persecution, never any where punish'd when 'tis discover'd, as in *Italy*, and yet not any where more practis'd undiscov'rd. To speak to a Woman in *Italy* in such manner as would be esteem'd good Manners in *France*, will be requited with a Dagger or Poyson. The Churches are rather Aziles for Lovers than Temples for Devotion; there the Dames drop their Billets of Assignment, and with one Eye towards Heaven, and the other glancing upon their Lovers pass over their Prayers, and under pretence of performing Vows to Saints, and making Penitential Devotions, obtain the means of leaving their Husbands and their Guardians at any hour. The Marquess de Doncour, in my absence from *Rome*, was engag'd in an Amour attended with very singular Circumstances, and because it will give some light into the Genius of the *Roman* Ladies, I shall here in short relate it.

The Marquess was nearly related to the Ambassador, and was one of his Attendants, a Person Beautiful and Vigorous, blooming in his Youth; his Pleasure was his chiefest Business, and that which he conceived in his admiration of the Fair Sex made no small Impression upon his tender Breast; he was a constant visitor of the Churches, and perhaps, the opportunities he found there of feasting his Eyes upon the Beauties of the *Roman* Dames, was not the least inducement to that constant attendance.

1687.

As the Marquess was one day sitting alone in his Chamber one of his Servants came to tell him, That a Roman Gentlewoman was below desiring to speak with him ; he went down directly to her ; she told him, that she had something to deliver privately to him ; he led her into the next Room, and sending his Servants forth, she gave him a Letter, which began, *Mio Caro, My Dear* ; he read it with abundance of eagerness, tho' the Person that writ it was unknown to him ; he found there an Assignment, with a Declaration of Love, the most tender that possibly could be express'd : The Person that brought the Letter was an *Italian* Matron, who took a List of all the strange Lords and Gentlemen of Quality that came to *Rome*, and gave Copies of the same to all the *Roman* Dames that pleas'd themselves with private Pleasure : The Person that writ the Letter was a young *Italian* Lady, of about 18 Years of Age, Wife to a very rich Merchant of *Rome* ; she was enamour'd with the Marquess by seeing him at Mass ; she gave him the day and the hour when she would meet him at the same Church. The Marquess, ignorant of the Charms of this Beauty, that had thus invited him, thought himself able to make this Adventure without Captivating his Heart, and therefore did not fail to meet the Fair One according to her Appointment : The Place was to be near the Confession Seat, where he found her sufficiently distinguish'd by her Beauty from all the Ladies in the Church. The first Interview confirm'd in him the mysterious Doctrine of Sympathy : The Lady had been already fired with the Charms that darted on her from every conquering Feature of the Marquess ; and he, in his turn, was not able to resist those penetrating Emanations that rush'd upon him from the Fair One ; their Bodies indeed were separate, but all besides was common ; their Spirits, like Chymical Extracts of different Natures at their first mixture struggle together, and are uneasy, but at last lie quiet in each others Embraces : To be short, the Minds of the Marquess and his dear Mistress were so much the same, that if they did not punctually agree in all other Affairs they did in that of Love ; and before they parted she took care by a Billet to let the Marquess know that

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at a certain Place and Hour the next Morning he should find the same Woman that brought him her former Letter, and she would Conduct him to a Place where they might enjoy each other's Conversation to a greater Satisfaction. 1687.

This young Lady was of an Illustrious Family, which formerly had very large Possessions, but was at last by Luxury falln to decay; her Husband was 56 Years of Age, and she, against her consent, forc'd to Marry him, by the continual Intercession of her Friends.

The Marquess being return'd Home, was perfectly at a loss how to spend this interval of time, that detain'd him from his Mistress: Never was so long a Night, the Curtains were drawn every quarter of an hour to see if day approached: At last the hour comes, the Marquess dresses, takes his Cloak and goes forth without any Servant, calls at a Perfumer's Shop, and bought some Essences, and refreshing Liquors (which the *Italian* Ladies very much admire) to make a present of to his Mistress; leaves his Cloak with the Perfumer, and goes on to meet the Matron, who waited for him; she Conducts him to the pretty *Italian's* Closet, and locks him in: About a quarter of an hour after the Lady came, her Husband being yet a bed.

The Marquess had the Curiosity to ask her, by what Stratagem she was able to steal her self away from a Husband so Jealous? She said, 'That some time since she had perswaded him, that she had a singular Devotion for the Picture of *Nostre Dame de Lorette*, which was in her Closet, Painted by the famous *Carrache*: That she had told her Husband, that she had made a Vow to rise every *Sunday* an hour before him to pray before the Picture of that Saint. But to return to the Matter, the Marquess pass'd an hour in the pretty Lady's Closet, the most charmingly that ever he had done any all the days of his Life, and the danger to which he was expos'd made the Caresses of this young Beauty appear the more Charming. They vowed to each other an inviolable Love; the Marquess made her a present of 50 Ducats of Gold, and retires; but with what regret Lovers alone are capable of thinking.

The Marquess calls at the Perfumer's for his Cloak, where

1687. where he sat down half an hour to refresh himself, and having his Thoughts full of the Adventure, could not forbear telling the Perfumer in general terms of his Intrigue, but withal concealing the Place and Person. The Perfumer advis'd him to take care not to publish such Adventures, because they might prove of ill Consequence. But, to finish my Story, the Husband of this pretty *Italian*, in his way to Mass, call'd at the same Perfumers, to fill his Box with Snuff, soon after the Marquess was gone: The Perfumer, who was intimate with him, willing to divert him, innocently gave him a relation of what the Marquess had told him: The Circumstances made the Merchant Jealous, who immediately returns Home, and asks his Wife for the Key of her Closet, pretending that he had forgot some Book of Devotion which was left there: The only Footsteps of the Marquess that he could find, was the Purse of Gold. He came down and told his Wife, 'That he design'd several Friends to Sup with him, and desired a plentiful Entertainment. The Guests were all her Relations: Supper being ended, he addresses himself to the Father and Mother of his Wife, and says, 'You have given me a Wife that has the secret of getting 50 Ducats in less than a quarter of an hour, she has no occasion to depend upon me, because the Commerce that she has is sufficient to enrich her; therefore I restore her to you, who may this Evening take her back with you. Silence and Confusion seized the whole Company: The Parents endeavour'd all they could to reconcile them, but all in vain; the poor Lady soon after shut her self up in a Convent, there to spend the remainder of her Life. But to return to our more serious Relations; the King's Expectations in *Italy* failing him, as appears by what has been said on that Subject; we will leave *Italy* for a little time, and take a view of the Designs of *France*, in relation to the Treaty of *Augsburgh*, and the Revolutions of *Great Britain*, from whence the War of 1688 broke forth.

1688. The King was no less solicitous in these than in the Affairs of *Italy*, nor indeed more successful: He persuades King *James II.* of *England* to use his endeavours to change the Laws of that Kingdom, and introduce liberty

liberty of Conscience, in order to establish the Roman 1688. Catholick Religion there, not considering that those Attempts had already cost the King's Father his Life. The Project, however, was begun; but the *English*, alarm'd at the Design, and Jealous of their Liberty, invite the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, as next Heirs to the Crown, over to their Assistance. The States General of the *United Provinces*, who have always thought their Union with *England* a thing absolutely necessary to their mutual Preservation, lent their Troops to the Prince, who past over into *England*, and there caused a Revolution, which surprized all *Europe*. The Most Christian King, oblig'd to support an Allie whom he had precipitated into such Misfortunes, declares War against *Holland*, and at the same time marches an Army commanded by the Dauphin against the Empire; and began his Hostilities with the Siege of *Philipsburg*. The *Dutch* (who must have been in a miserable Condition, if *France* had not made this false Step in dividing their Forces) arm themselves with all possible Expedition: The Emperor complains, That the King had broke the Truce that was between 'em. The King publishes a Manifesto against his Imperial Majesty, wherein he declar'd to all *Europe*, That he had not taken up Arms, before he was inform'd that a Treaty was sign'd between the Emperor, the Electors, and the King of *Spain*, to make War against him, and to that End his Imperial Majesty only waited to see an end to the War he was engag'd in against the *Turks*, that he might turn all his Force against *France*: That he had refused to change the late Cessation of Arms that was agreed on between them, into a Peace: That the Elector *Palatine* had refused to give the Dutches of *Orleans* Satisfaction for the Fiefs and other Estates that belong'd to her by her Succession to his Father and Brother: That the Emperor had forc'd the Chapter of *Cologne* to nominate a *Bavarian* Prince to that Electorate, and used his utmost endeavour to exclude the Cardinal de *Furstemburgh*. And thus began the War of 1688.

The next Year Pope *Innocent XI.* dies; the Treaties made with the *Italian* Princes are dropt. The Prince
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1688. and Princess of *Orange* are crown'd King and Queen of *England*; they declare War against *France*; the King of *France*, in return, declares War against *Spain* and *England*; the Duke of *Savoy* prepares to come into the Grand Alliance; the *French* this Year meet with several Disadvantages; the Duke of *Lorraine* besieges and takes *Mayence*; the King of *Prussia* becomes Master of *Keyserfewert* and *Bonn*; the Marshal of *Humiers* is repuls'd at *Walcourt*, by the Prince of *Waldeck*; which was the first Advantage that Prince ever had over the *French* Troops, and look'd upon as an ill Omen to *France*.

1689. The Campaign being ended, the King held a Council, wherein all his Chief Ministers assisted, upon the ill success of the last Campaign: they were at a loss what Measures to take whereby they might call back Fortune, which had always hitherto favour'd their Arms, but seem'd now to embrace the Enemies Cause. The Court was not satisfied with the Conduct of the Marshal de *Humiers*, who, altho' own'd to be a good General, was not thought Fortunate. The King then wanted a Captain who had Experience, and at the same time was not wanting in good Fortune. A particular inspection was made into all the Generals that were capable of commanding his Majesty's Armies: Their Merit and Success was the Subject of these Debates, and themselves put to the Suffrages of these Ministers: The Duke of *Luxemburg* was nam'd at Court but in derision; his Memory seem'd to be buried under the ruins of the Towns in *Flanders* which he had conquered in the late *Dutch* War; his Name was odious to *France* as well as to the Enemies of that Crown: At Home he was accounted a Magician, a Man that convers'd with the Devil, and made use of his black Art: Abroad he was esteem'd a Cruel, Barbarous and Merciless General, the most Inhumane that ever commanded the King's Armies. All the Marshals of *France* had their Partizans at Court. The Duke of *Vendome*, the Prince of *Conti*, the Marshal de *Duras*, the Duke de *Villeroy*, Monsieur de *Lorge*, *Catinat* and *Boufflers* were all propos'd. The King, in this difficulty, knew not which way to turn himself: All that were propos'd to him seem'd to have some

some defect or other, that rendred 'em not truly qualified for the Command in *Flanders*; some were wanting in Experience, others in Wisdom, others in Caution, and others in good Fortune; but the necessity was pressing; the Enemies that the King had drawn upon him were numerous, and the Success that used to attend his Majesty's Arms began to desert them. Monsieur de *Louvois*, who was the only remaining Friend the Marshal de *Luxembourg* had at Court, propos'd him to the King: Madam de *Maintenon* and Father *la Chaise* endeavour'd to disappoint him: They represented to his Majesty, that the Evils that *France* was like to be afflicted with by the War, were too great to be increased by the choice of a General, that had abandon'd God: That it was impossible to obtain the Blessings of Heaven upon the King's Designs, if he made use of a Man, who had spent all his Life in the study of Necromancy and wicked Debauches: That besides these abominable Principles, he had a thousand other ill Qualities which made him odious: That his Life and Conversation would be a pernicious Example to the other Officers, and even to the Soldiers themselves.

Monsieur de *Louvois*, who knew the Marshal's good and bad Qualities, answer'd the King, that without him they would scarce have been able to have carried on the War of 1672. That the very Name of *Luxembourg* had, and would again, oblige the *Dutch* to fly before him: That good Policy required him to be employ'd against the *Dutch*, since he had defeated them in several Engagements: That War was not an Affair of Bigotry, and that he was perswaded, that if his Majesty would give him the Command of his Army in *Flanders*, a new Face would soon discover it self upon his Affairs; and that as to the other Generals that were propos'd, they did not want Failings, as well as the Duke de *Luxembourg*: That the Duke of *Vendome* was a Phantom of a Hero: The Prince of *Conti* was indeed a Person of Merit, but 'twas not safe to trust him in such an employ. The Marshal de *Duras* was but a shadow now, in comparison of what he had been, and his great Age would not permit him to undergo the Fatigues of a Campaign: The Duke of

1689. *Villeroy* was a Man of no great Merit, and had shewn more Vanity than Succels: The Marshal *de Lorge* seem'd to have sufficient Conduct, but had never Commanded any great Army: Monsieur *de Catinat* was a good General, but was more fit for *Italy* than *Flanders*: Monsieur *de Boufflers* was but at the beginning of his Fortune, and had not yet had sufficient Experience.

The King having maturely consider'd these Reasons, at last resolv'd to recall the Duke of *Luxembourg*, (who liv'd then in a kind of Exile,) and gave him the Command of the Army that had been under the care of the Marshal *de Humiers*. The Duke arriving at *Versailles* kindly receiv'd the Caresses and Salutes of the Court, and undertook the Command of that Army, being very well satisfied with the Justice that was done him. No Body less generous than himself, would have accepted of it after so many tokens of Ingratitude, to the Man that had done so many eminent Services to *France* in the last War.

The Duke, to whom I had the Honour to be nearly related, had no sooner accepted of the Command, but he sent me a Letter, wherein he invited me to serve under him, as first Aid de Camp. The Marquess *de Lavardin* being recalled from *Rome*, I was retain'd there to take care of his Majesty's Business; the Duke therefore procur'd me an order for being recall'd, and sent it with his Letter.

The impatience that I had to see *Paris* again, the great desire of making a Campaign, and the News of the Duke's being recall'd into the King's Service, which gave me no small prospect of my own future Advantages, made the Duke's Letter unconceivably welcome to me; I took my leave of *Rome*, and set out for *Paris* by the Way of *Switzerland*, where I was commission'd to buy 10000 Horses to remount the King's Cavalry, where, by the help of *Abraham Machardi* a Jew, that business was soon done. At my arrival at *Paris* I was particularly inform'd of the Circumstances of the Marshal *de Luxembourg*'s recall, which I just before related: He went with me to the Marquess *de Louvois*, to whom I gave an account of the Affairs that had been committed to my Charge,

in all the Courts of *Italy*. That Chief Minister received me with great Marks of Friendship, and assur'd me that the King was very well satisfied with my Conduct. 1687.

The end of the Month of *April* being come, we were preparing for the Field. The King call'd to a private Conference the Duke, and the Marquis de *Louvois*; the Marquis was of opinion, that we ought to act Defensively, both in *Germany* and *Flanders*, as we had done the last Campaign, concluding, that the Conquests of the Enemies the last Year, gave reason to believe, that they would be superior to us in the ensuing Campaign: That his Majesty ought to take sufficient time to put his Armies into such a state as they may be able to act Offensively every where: That the dispositions of Affairs in General were such, as he thought did forbid the hazard of acting Offensively. The Duke of *Luxembourg* answer'd, that he was of a contrary Opinion; he thought it necessary to seek the Enemy and fight 'em, because all the Success that was to be expected from the King's Arms, depended upon the gaining of a Battle. If an Engagement should be defer'd, they might reasonably expect, that the Prince of *Orange*, who was the Soul of the Confederate Cause, after he was settled in *England*, would come over and command in Person the Army of the States. That it would be much more adviseable to fight that Army under the command of the Prince of *Waldeck*, than when it had a Prince at their Head whose Courage had rais'd him to a Throne: He concluded, that we ought to dispense with some hazards, and with the Fortune of Arms: That if his Majesty would permit him to risque a Battle, he flatter'd himself that he should obtain a Victory.

The King heard what was offer'd, but would give no decisive Answer to either of these Propositions, before he had consulted with *Madam de Maintenon*, who was the Oracle of the Court: Who, altho' she oppos'd the recalling of the Duke of *Luxembourg*, could not forbear doing him justice in approving of his Project. She was of the same opinion the preceding Year, but the Marshal d' *Humiers* had not the good Fortune to put it in execution. The King then gave his last Orders to the Marshal, and told him at parting, that

1689. the Confidence he repos'd in him was sufficient to engage him to consent to any thing that he should undertake. The Marshal answer'd, That his sole Ambition was to execute his Majesty's Orders, and to die for his Glory, and that he hop'd the Campaign which he was going to make, would give new proofs of his Zeal and Fidelity.

1690. The Marshal then left *Versailles*, and the 5th of May arrived at *St. Amand*, where the French Army waited for him. He immediately made use of a Stratagem to deceive the Prince of *Waldeck*; made several Marches and Countermarches in order to discover his Strength and Inclinations; in the mean time he sends an Officer of Note with an Engineer in a Monks Habit, to get a perfect Intelligence of all the Posts and Fortifications the Enemy had made, and were possess'd of; they happily return'd, and brought him a Plan of their Camp, and the Situation of the Country about it. The Marshal passes the River *Sambre* without much opposition, and drives the Enemy from the Redoubts and Forts which they had made to dispute our Passage: He attacks the Count *de Flodorf* who had 22 Squadrons under his Command; after some resistance the Enemy was put into disorder, and forc'd to quit the Field. From thence he march'd to *Boëges* and *Ligny*, and extended his Troops as far as *Vagneller*, which motion oblig'd the Enemy to come to a Battle, which began the 1st of July, at 8 in the Morning and continued till 7 at Night. The Dutch Infantry did Wonders, and in all probability if their Cavalry had supported 'em with the like Valour, the Duke of *Luxembourg* would scarcely have been able to sustain their Fury, notwithstanding his superiority: But, in short, the Prince of *Waldeck* was forc'd to leave the Field with 6000 Men kill'd upon the spot, and 7000 taken Prisoners. The Marshal writ two Letters upon the Field of Battle, one to the King, and the other to the Marquess *de Louvois*; the latter of which he sent by me, the Copy follows;

S I R,

I Have executed the King's Commands, and find my self this moment in the middle of 10000 dead

M E M O I R S.

21

‘ dead and wounded Men in the great Plain of *Fleurus*; the Troops of his Majesty have beat the Prince of *Waldeck*: Tho’ on our side this Engagement hath caused the shedding of the precious Blood of *France*, by the Death of many brave Officers which the King has lost; yet on the other side its Consequences will be Glorious and Advantageous to his Majesty’s Arms. I have inform’d you of the divers Motions that I have made to the 1st of *July*, which is the day of Battle. These Marches and Countermarches have sufficiently well succeeded, since they have procured us an Action the Bravest and most Glorious that has been executed by his Majesty’s Troops since the Death of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marshal of *Turenne*. M. the Duke of *Maine* has distinguish’d himself in an extraordinary manner. The *Swiss* and Gens d’ Arms have signaliz’d themselves; we have lost Monsieur de *Cournai*, who commanded the Cavalry on the Left Wing, and Monsieur *Dumets* General of the Artillery. I regret the loss of both in respect to the King’s Service, for they were very good Officers. On the Enemies part the Prince of *Frize* hath signaliz’d himself, and taken abundance of Pains. The Marquess de ——— my Aid de Camp, who will present you this Letter, and who is not unknown to you, will more fully inform you; he was in all parts of the Army during the Action: I take the liberty to recommend him to you as a Person that has well perform’d his Duty, and am, &c.

Sign’d,

Luxembourg.

Being arrived at *Versailles*, I went directly to the Marquess de *Louvois*, and delivered him the Marshal’s Letter. He had already read that to the King, so that I found him in an unexpressible Joy. Having read his Letter, he ask’d me several Questions relating to the Battle; after which he left me for a moment and went into his Closet, and being return’d. made me a present of a Purse with 300 Lewis d’ Ors, and said, Sir, I shall not be forgetful of the Recommendation that M. de *Luxembourg* hath given you; go and refresh your self, and let me see you again before you r

1690. *departure, because I shall give you a Letter to the Marshal. I gladly took the Marquess's advice, for I had been 8 days almost always in action. After two or three days refreshment, having thrown my self to my Friends, I went to wait on the Marquess for his Letter in order to my return to the Army: This is the Copy;*

S I R,

I Must tell you, in answer to yours, that you have executed the King's Orders in such a manner as to engage his Majesty into an Esteem for your Person not inferior to that he had formerly conceived. Silence reigns at Court, and those that were your Enemies are now no longer so. Thus we see when our Affairs take an adverse turn, we have no true Friends, every one turns his back towards us: But if we have Fortune on our side and become Happy, Envy and Hatred appear no more upon the Stage, but give place to Praises and Encomiums, which all the World are ready to salute us with: Our greatest Enemies are then ambitious of being on our Party: the present Scene may sufficiently convince you of this, of which I am a joyful Spectator. The King is extremely well pleased with your Conduct, and the new lustre that you have given to his Arms makes him forget the loss that he has sustained of so many brave Men in this Battle; being persuaded, that such a Victory could not be bought too dear. If the King has so much reason to be well pleased, let the Friendship that I bear you speak for me. It is a new addition to your Glory, and a recent Satisfaction for me to have so well advis'd his Majesty, since the choice that he has made stops the Mouth of all your Enemies, and raises the Glory of France. I am extremely well pleased with the Encomium you give of Monsieur the Duke of Maine; your loss of Monsieurs de Gournay and Dumets is very sensible to us, but it is the Fortune of War. Since then you remain upon the Enemies Field of Battle, the King uses all possible expedition to send you new Instructions for the rest of the Campaign, I am, &c.

Sign'd,

Louvois.
Being

Being returned to the Army, I presented Monsieur de Louvois's Letter to the Marshal; the King's Troops, altho' Victorious at the Battle of *Fleurus*, had been so rudely treated by the Enemies that they were not capable of undertaking any thing more all that Campaign. The end of Autumn being come, the Troops were sent into Winter Quarters. I follow'd the Marshal to Court, where he was loaded with Honours. This Campaign was very prosperous to the King's Arms in *Flanders*, at Sea, and in *Savoy*: In *Flanders* the Duke of *Luxembourg* gain'd the Battle of *Fleurus*, as we have just now related; at Sea the Count de *Tourville* beat the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet near the *Cape de Beveziers*, and burnt 12 Men of War in the Port of *Tegmont*; in *Savoy* Monsieur de *Catinat* fought his Royal Highness near *Stasard*, and was Victorious; but the King of *England*, in some measure, balanced these Advantages by the famous Battle of the *Boyne*.

All this Success so much excited the Warlike Genius of the King, that he had a desire to taste again of War, and make some Campaigns yet in his Old Age. All things were prepar'd for opening the Campaign very early in the Spring with the Siege of *Mons*. Oats were bought up for the subsistence of the Cavalry, instead of Forrage. The King set out from *Versailles* the 1st of *March*, and put himself at the head of his Army compos'd of 30000 Horse, and 70000 Foot. The Marshal de *Luxembourg* beg'd the King that he would permit the Ladies of the Court to partake of the Pleasures and Dangers of the Field with the Generals; thinking that the Siege of *Mons*, (the Enemy not being able to disturb it,) would at the same time afford leisure enough to divert themselves in their Tents; which the King very readily granted, designing to make this Campaign Glorious in appearance as well as in Victory.

A few days after the King's arrival *Mons* was invested and besieged in form, and whilst the Artillery fir'd upon the Place, and the Soldiers kept the Trenches, the Generals had Balls in their Tents, to entertain the Ladies of the Court who had follow'd the Army: The King seem'd to be young again, and pleas'd himself as much with the Conversation of the Courtizans

1691. as the youngest General that was there: The Court of *France* never made War with less Danger and more Pleasure.

The King of *England*, who was not at all expected in this Enterprize, assembled an Army of about 44000 Men in order to relieve *Mons*; but this was not a force sufficient to interrupt the Siege, or, if they had been strong enough must have arriv'd too late, the Place surrendring 18 days after the Trenches were open'd.

Mons having surrendred, the King, emulous of the Honours that are paid to great Heroes, and having abundance of Princes and Noblemen come to salute him in his Camp, was willing to make *Mons* the Theatre whereon he would shew the lustre of his Glory, and order'd such Triumphant Arches, and other Heroical Ensigns to be erected for his Entry into that City, as had been prepar'd at the *Hague* for the reception of the King of *England*.

The King did not stay a great while in *Flanders* after his entry into *Mons*, being perswaded by his Ministers that it was not good Policy for such a Monarch to risk his Life. Nothing further memorable pass'd between the two Armies that Campaign, till the Confederate Army was retiring into Winter Quarters.

The middle of *September* being come, the King of *England* left the Army to the Conduct of the Prince of *Waldeck* and return'd into *England*. The Marshal de *Luxembourg* hoping to make some advantage of his absence, got all the Intelligence he could by Spies and Captives, of the Condition of the Enemies Army, and the Situation of the Country thro' which they must pass to go into their Quarters; and resolv'd to fall upon their Rear. As soon as he perceiv'd their Motions in order to retire, he draws together all the King's Household, the Gens d' Arms, four Regiments of Horse and two of Dragoons, and by favour of a Fog fell upon them on a sudden; the Enemy defended themselves with exceeding Bravery, and the Country being cover'd with Hedges and Defiles, they found means to succour those that were attack'd with fresh Troops, and the Conflict began to be bloody and uncertain. The Marshal at last seeing the Enemies whole

whole Army advance, retir'd with the utmost diligence, leaving a great many brave Officers and Soldiers that fell in the Engagement behind him. 1691.

During this Campaign the Marquês de Louvois died. Besides his being first Minister of State; he was Superintendant of the Navy, great Vicar of the order of St. Lazare, and of Notre Dame de Mont Carmel, Great Master of the Couriers; and Superintendant General of the Posts; he died at Versailles the 16th of July 1691, in the 51st year of his Age. The manner of his Death being very singular deserves a place in these Memoirs.

The King vex'd to the Heart to see Affairs run as they did in England, and King William so firmly settled upon the Throne, and using the Nerves of that Nation against the Designs of France; could not forbear venting his Rage upon the Marquês de Louvois. As France declar'd War against Holland, in order to oblige that Nation to call back the Troops they lent the Prince of Orange upon his going into England, or to put it under pressing Necessities by their sudden Invasion; the Marquês was the only Person that sway'd the Council in advising the King at the same time to attack the Empire by the Siege of Philipsburg. To this false step the King believed a great many consequent Evils to be owing, particularly that of King William's Success in England and Ireland. To be short, the King's Passion run so high (notwithstanding the Reasons the Marquês brought to justify himself) as to cause him to give that Minister a Box on the Ear. The Marquês was so sensibly affected to see himself thus ill-used in a full Assembly, by a Monarch that had always made him his Favourite, and for whose Interest he always thought it a Glory to sacrifice himself, arose soon after from his Chair and beg'd his Majesty's leave to go forth, saying, that he found himself ill: The King being willing to mortifie him, and believing that Complaisance would be unreasonable, commanded him to sit still. The Marquês, oblig'd to obey his Sovereign, remain'd in Council; but his illness increasing, his Countenance chang'd as pale as Death; the King then gave him leave to retire. He was scarce able to go through the several Apartments to

1691. to the Stairs, at the Bottom of which his Coach waited for him. Being got home he was immediately blood-ed in the Arm, but perceiving himself mightily oppress'd was bled again, and that was the last Moment of his Life. His Majesty suffer'd a Great Loss in this Minister, and his Death was more advantageous to the Allies than the gaining of a General Battle, or the Conquest of many Important Places.

The Campaign of 1691 being ended, I attended the Marshal to Court, where we pass'd our Winter Quarters very agreeably in Pleasures. The Gallantry of the Court was not a little augmented by Two Marriages of Distinction which the King made this Winter: One between Monsieur the Duke of *Chartes* and Madam *de Blois*; the Other between Monsieur the Duke of *Maine* and the Princess *de Charollois*. The Criticks at Court seem'd extreamly surpriz'd, and could not imagine how his Majesty could think of mixing the pure Blood of the Royal Family with that of his Illegitimate Children, which was done in both these Matches: Madam *de Blois* whom the Duke *de Chartes* espoused; and the Duke of *Maine*, who espoused the Second Daughter of the Prince of *Conde*, were both Children of his Mistresses.

The Rejoycings occasion'd by these Illustrious Alliances were follow'd by an extraordinary Spectacle of Novelty. The King would give his Children an Image of the War; the Campaign was to be made in the Province of *Campagne*: I was order'd to go and assist the Engineers in making out that Famous Camp. I could scarce forbear Laughing to see all the Proud Equipage that was marking for this sham War; no Body had the Precaution to make his Will before he went into the Field. This celebrated Conflict very much resembled the Siege of *Mons*, where the Ladies of Court thought it a Glory to carry the Musquets because they knew very well there were no Blows would be given. The King, the Princes and Princesses his Children, the Duke of *Luxembourg*, the other Generals, all the Lords and Ladies of the Court; In short, all *Paris* set out the Beginning of *March* upon this Important Expedition. We besieged the Place in Form; we drew the Lines of Circumvallation, open'd

open'd the Trenches, batter'd it, and at last took it; 1691.
 and whilst we made War on one side we made Love
 on the other; the Generals gave Balls in their Tents
 as they had done at *Mons*. The King took his Part
 of all the Pleasure and Gallantry with his Generals;
 he shew'd as much Tendernefs for his ancient Mistres-
 ses as he used formerly to do; his Children, and all
 the Lords of the Court, imitated his Majesty, and
 each in his Turn carefs'd the Fair Ones: In truth, I
 thought it a singular Pleasure to make War so a-
 greeably; and indeed whilst every one was diverting
 himself I did not sit cross leg'd. I shall forbear rela-
 ting Abundance of Diverting Intrigues which perhaps
 would not be unacceptable in another Place, but the
 Reader may think them here inconvenient.

As the time approach'd wherein we must go to
 make War in *Flanders*, after another manner than
 we had done in *Campagne*, I return'd to *Paris* to take
 my leave of some Friends, and get ready the Marshal
de Luxembourg's Equipage. The King a few Days
 after, and all the Court, return'd to *Versailles*, and,
 chang'd their Council from the Shadow to the Sub-
 stance of War.

The King having confer'd with Marshal *de Luxem- 1692.*
bourg, in a Private Council held at *Versailles*, upon
 the Present Circumstance of Affairs, resolv'd to give
 Two Great Blows at the beginning of the Campaign.
 At this time his Majesty made the greatest Ostentati-
 on of his Power, and thought his Presence necessary
 to give Life and Vigor to the Execution of those Pro-
 jects that he had form'd. The first of these Designs
 was the Siege of *Namur*; and the second to re estab-
 lish King *James*. He departed from *Versailles* the
 10th of *May*, to put himself at the Head of his Army
 in *Flanders*, which consisted of 150000 Men; the
 24th he Encamp'd in the Plains of *St. Amand*, be-
 tween *Ligny* and *Fleurus*; that being the Place where
 the Famous Battle was fought which recover'd the
 sinking Reputation of his Arms the Beginning of this
 War. His Majesty accompanied by the Duke of *Lux-*
embourg, had the Curiosity to visit all that Country:
 The Duke pleasantly diverted his Majesty, shewing
 him the Methods that he used to bring the Prince of
Waldeck.

1692. *Waldeck* to a Battle. The King afterwards divided his Army into several Bodies, and began the Siege of *Namur*; the 5th of *June* the Town surrender'd, the Castle continuing to defend it self vigorously. The King of *England* assembled his Army with all Expedition, and accompanied with the Elector of *Bavaria* encamp'd on the Banks of the River *Meuse*, and would have pass'd it, if he had not been hinder'd by the Rains that swell'd the River to such a degree as to carry away all the Bridges: The Castle surrendered the 30th of the same Month; and thus the King succeeded in his first Project. Now I'll give a short Account of what pass'd in Relation to his Expedition upon *England*. The Naval Army of *France* was ready to put to Sea, resolv'd to make a Descent upon *England* in order to re establish King *James* upon that Throne. That unfortunate Prince was ready to Embark with the Army that was to assist him: All was ready except God, the Disposer of all things, who by contrary Winds hinder'd the Joyning of the several Squadrons which were to compose the Fleet. This Enterprize was attended with two great Conspiracies; one was concerted in *England* to surprize and seize the Queen, and transport her into *France*; the other was to be executed in *Flanders* by Assassinating King *William*. Monsieur de *Barbeseux* who succeeded the Marquess de *Louvois* in the Management of Affairs, would have engaged me to enter into the last Design: But as these Sort of Actions are unworthy of the Character of a Man of Honour, I beg'd him to excuse me, alledging, that the Veneration I had for Kings would not permit me to engage my self therein; that I had rather lose my Life an hundred times in the Service of the King upon other Occasions. The Chevalier *Grandval* was not so scrupulous, he undertook it, and his Life became a Victim to his Imprudence; for, having been discover'd, he was condemn'd to die, and executed in the Confederate Army the 13th of *August*.

The Fleets of *England* and *Holland* taking the Advantage of this Impediment that happen'd to the *French* Fleet by contrary Winds, join'd to the Number of 88 Ships of War, and set sail in quest of the
French

French Fleet commanded by *Montieur Tourville*. As soon as they appear'd, that Admiral, who had Orders to fight, being join'd by the other Ships that he expected, attack'd the Confederate Fleet; the fight continued sharp and bloody for three Days successively. *Tourville*, at last, finding that he had lost 18 Men of War, and was not able to continue the Fight, retreated by Favour of the Night, and left the Victory to the Enemies Fleets. This Misfortune alay'd the Joy that the taking of *Namur* had caused at Court: The Progress of the King's Arms was interrupted, and the Confederate Princes had now sufficient reason to console themselves for the Loss of that Important Place. The King, at his setting out from *Paris*, had so great an Opinion of the Projects which he had concerted, that he did not scruple to say, That this Campaign would put an end to the War, and reduce Affairs to their former State.

The loss of *Namur* was so sensible to the King of *England*, that he resolv'd to come to a Battle with the Duke of *Luxembourg*. That General had certainly been surpriz'd at *Steinkerque*, if it had not been prevented by a Correspondence that I had with one of the Elector of *Bavaria's* Domesticks, who advis'd me of every thing that pass'd: He was a Musician, his Name was *Millevoys*: I formerly contracted an intimate Acquaintance with him at *Tournay*, where he taught me Musick, and was a great Master of that Science, but very much debauch'd and corrupted in his Manners, which led him into some Practices which oblig'd him to leave the Town: Arriving at the *Hague*, his great Skill in Musick recommended him to the Envoy of the Elector of *Bavaria*, who entertain'd him for some time, and afterwards sent him to his Master the Elector, where he became one of his Highness's Musicians. He writ to me from *Brussels*, gave me an Account of his Circumstances, and hinted that he would be ready to inform me of what pass'd at that Court, provided I would procure him a Pension from the Duke of *Luxembourg*. I gave the Duke an Account of this Letter, and the Person that wrote it; he order'd me to lay hold of this Opportunity, and encourage the Correspondence; adding, that he should have

1692. have a Pension of 1200 Florins *per Annum*. In Answer to my Friend *Milleroy*, I gave him an Account of my Willingness to Correspond with him, and the Pension that the Duke had promis'd, which extreamly well pleas'd him: He was afterwards very diligent in advising me upon all Emergent Occasions, which procur'd many considerable Advantages to the King's Arms.

The King of England being inform'd that the Duke of *Luxembourg* would march by *Angbeim*, he advanced with his Army towards *Genappe*, resolv'd to give him Battle by arriving there before him; but I having received a Letter from *Milleroy* upon this Occasion, communicated it to the Marshal, who making use of this Advice, march'd with so much Diligence as to arrive at *Steinkerque* before the King of England, and post his Army very advantageously: The King, surpris'd at the Marshal's Expedition, caus'd a Scrutiny to be made in the Army, after those that had given this Intelligence to his Enemy; *Milleroy* was apprehended, convicted and hang'd at the Head of the Army. The King of England being arriv'd near *Steinkerque* order'd the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who commanded the Vanguard, to post himself upon an Eminence which was in Possession of the French, and was defended by Intrenchments made before it; the French were driven from thence by the Enemy's Cannon, and about two a Clock in the Afternoon the Confederates march'd directly to the French Army; one part of the Troops possess'd themselves of the Eminence, another Part was rang'd behind it, and the Remainder on the right side of it: The Cavalry was posted upon the Flanks to support the Infantry. The Duke of *Luxembourg* rang'd his Infantry in order of Battle on the other side the Eminence; the Dragoons were order'd to support the Infantry, and the Cavalry the Dragoons. The King order'd General *Makai* to attack the French, the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to support him, and the Count *de Solms* to support both; 10 Battallions began the Attack, and 7 more follow'd them, commanded by General *Fagel*: they push'd back the French, and became Masters of their Cannon, which they did not hold long, General *Makai*

kei being kill'd, his Detachment did not support the Troops that had made the Advantage: The King of *England* seeing some disorder on that side made all possible hast to remedy it, but it was too late, for Marshal *Boufflers* advancing with a Body of fresh Troops push'd back General *Fagel*, tho' he defended himself with all imaginable Intrepidity. This Action, which indeed was only with the Infantry, where both Parties shew'd Prodigies of Bravery, terminated by an orderly retreat of the Allies, the Marshal not venturing to go out of his Camp to pursue 'em: This was the last thing worthy of notice that this Campaign afforded.

1692.

The opening of the Campaign 1693 began with the Creation of Seven Marshals of *France*, as well to prevent the Jealousies that began to reign amongst the Generals, as to recompence them for their Merits; these new Honours animated the Generals that had receiv'd 'em with a new Zeal. The King, to invigorate his Troops the more, leaves *Versailles*, and puts himself at the Head of his Army; the Heroesses accompany his Majesty. Upon his Arrival he makes a Review of his Army, consisting of 100000 Men; this Review was full of Gallantry and amorous Adventures; we loved, and were loved again; never was Time spent with more Pleasure; but Love alone did not possess the Mind of this Monarch, he had great Designs in View, which were prevented by the King of *England's* advantageously posting himself on the Mount of *St. Andrew*, who without a Battle could not be obliged to quit it. The King of *France*, who never lik'd to commit his Person to the uncertain Events of War, leaves the Command of his Army to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, and returns to *Versailles*.

1693.

The King being gone the Duke endeavour'd to bring the King of *England* and the Elector of *Bavaria* to a Battle. He had the choicest Troops of *France* with him; that they might succeed in this Design, it was resolv'd between the Duke, the Marshals *Villeroi* and *Boufflers*, to execute two Projects: The first was the Siege of *Huy*, which was invested by Monsieur *Villeroi* the 18th of *July*; the King of *England* made then a Detachment of 15000 Men under the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, which was fatal to him.

The

1693. The second Design, which was indeed but a Stratagem, that the Duke of *Luxembourg* made use of, was to view the Retrenchments and Works that were made before *Leige*; the King of *England* made then another Detachment to reinforce that Garrison, which caused the Loss of the famous Battle of *Landen*. The Duke of *Luxembourg* further to deceive the Enemy, order'd his Troops to make Fascines as if he had really a Design to attack *Liege*, but decamping on a sudden made a March of Seven Leagues and arrived with the Troops of the King's Household, within Sight of the Enemies Camp. The King of *England* and Elector of *Bavaria* concluded immediately, that the Duke had a Design to attack them. They resolv'd to wait for him, being perswaded that the Victory might reasonably be disputed by the Favour of their Intrenchments, notwithstanding the Superiority of the *French*. The Duke of *Luxembourg* spent all the Night in disposing of his Army in order of Battle; the King of *England* in raising his Intrenchments, and planting his Artillery, (which consisted of 100 Pieces of Cannon,) on the Borders of his Camp: The two Armies were under Arms all Night, expecting an Action the next Day, which would be decided with the greatest Events that had hapned since the Beginning of the War.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* sent his last Orders for the Attack, to the Lieutenant Generals, which began about five a Clock in the Morning; but the *French* Troops were every where repuls'd, and about Eleven a Clock they began to despair: Then the Duke perceiving them fainty and remiss, rode thro' the Ranks of the Troops, with his Hat in his Hand, calling out aloud to animate 'em, *Souvenez-vous, Messieurs, de la gloire de la France*. The left Wing began then their Attack again, but with the Loss of an infinite number of Men, and without any Success: This second Attack was follow'd with a kind of Cessation of Arms, which seem'd to predict the Duke's Retreat, and it was the Opinion of Marshal *Boufflers*, that it was better so to do then risque the Loss of a Battle: But the Duke of *Luxembourg* doubled his Efforts, drew up all his Cavalry, and crying out again, *Souvenez-vous, Messieurs, de la gloire de la France*, put himself at the Head

Head of 'em, and attack'd the Right Wing of the Enemy, where the Fire began to lessen for Want of Ammunition, and forc'd the Village of *Winden*. Then the Cavalry entred the Enemies Camp, which was the last Scene of a Battle, as bloody and as terrible as ever was fought. The King of *England* attributed the loss of the Battle to Monsieur *Coulon*, who commanded the Artillery, because he had discontinued the Fire, which gave the *French* Cavalry an opportunity to break into their Camp. *Coulon* justified himself in saying, That he had follow'd the Orders of a General Officer, which the General Officer denied. That Engineer soon after left the Service of the King of *England*, who, notwithstanding any thing that had pass'd, gave him a very great Recommendation to the Emperor, whom he afterwards serv'd. The D. of *Luxembourg* wrote immediately two Letters upon this Victory, one to the King, and the other to *Madam de Maintenon*; the latter of which follows.

A Letter from the Duke of *Luxembourg* to *Madam Maintenon*.

MADAM,

I Write to you from a Field of Battle full of dead and dying Men; but I perswade my self that this terrible Spectacle I represent to you, will not be horrible, since the Victory is ours. You have had so great a part in the Projects of this Campaign, that 'tis to you we owe the Success of his Majesty's Arms. You have been the only Person near the King that have given your Opinion in the last Council against all the other Generals, that we ought to fight the Prince of *Orange*. I have been of that Sentiment with you, and the Action that we have now had at *Landen* fully convinces us that there's a Necessity of running hazards in the Business of War, as I have always told his Majesty. I cannot dissemble the loss that we have receiv'd in so great a number of brave Officers and Soldiers; but the Consequences will recompense the King, and will give him no occasion to regret them. The Victory that his Majesty's Arms has obtain'd hath been so much the more

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signal,

1693.

signal, as the great Fire of the Enemy; and the
desperateness that they have defended themselves
with, has render'd it difficult and uncertain. But the
Courage and Bravery of our Troops have at last sur-
mounted every Obstacle. You will see, Madam,
by the Letter that I have done my self the Honour
to write to the King, many other Circumstances on
the Subject of this Battle; which will assure you of
my Zeal for his Majesty's Service. I am, &c.

Luxembourg.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* had the Victory; but it
cost him dear, which occasion'd the Dauphin to say,
that one or two such Victories more would be enough
to ruin the Army. The Duke of *Luxembourg* at his
Return to *Paris* was troubled to see so many illustrious
Families in Mourning, occasion'd by the loss of Abun-
dant of brave Officers. But when it contributes to
the Glory of the King, the Sacrifice of so many brave
Men is esteem'd as nothing. At Court they heapt
Honours upon him, but out of Court Reproaches.
He had the good Will of the King, but the Curse of
the People. I have seen a great Number of Ladies in
Mourning come to visit him at his Return from the
Field, on purpose to reproach him for the Death of
their Children and Husbands, and threaten to set on
fire his Palace, unless he would procure them Pensions
at Court, to mitigate their Affliction. The Duke to
appease 'em promis'd to use all the Interest that he had
with the King in their Favour, which dismiss'd 'em
satisfied for the present, and expecting the effect of
his Promises. But the King must have been ruin'd if
he had been oblig'd to give Pensions to all the Widows
that had lost their Husbands, and all the Mothers
that had lost their Children in this Engagement. The
4th of *October* in this Year there was likewise a Battle
in the Plain of *Marsaille* in *Piedmont*, wherein the
Arms of the King were Victorious, but it cost him
dear by the Loss of a great number of Officers that
were kill'd there.

The Campaign of 1693 being ended; and having
been full of Prosperity to the king's Arms, his Ma-
jesty, willing to pursue these Advantages, Holds a
Council

Council at *Versailles*, the Result of which was to endeavour to bring the Confederate Princes to a Peace, or otherwise to disunite 'em, 1693.

Divers Reasons inclin'd the King to these Resolutions. First, His Treasures being exhausted, which are the Nerves of War: Secondly, the dreadful Losses that he had sustain'd by so many Officers and Soldiers kill'd in the late Battles: Thirdly the Appearance of a Civil War that seem'd impending in his Kingdom: And, Lastly, The approaching Death of the King of *Spain*, and the Pretensions that he had to his Succession. To these may be added, that his Majesty could not choose a more proper Time, than when his Arms were every where Victorious and triumphant.

The Envoy of *Denmark*, that resided at *London*, was desired to propose a Peace to the Court of *England*; the Nuncio of the Pope to communicate the same to the Court of *Spain*. As the Elector of *Bavaria* was very closely bound in Friendship with the King of *England*, 'twas thought that if his Electoral Highness could any way underhand be brought to espouse the Interest of *France*, he would be of great Service in perswading the King of *England* to a Peace, who was esteem'd the Head of the Confederacy: This Negotiation was very nice, and requir'd Secrecy. The Duke of *Luxembourg* propos'd me to Monsieur de *Barbesieux*, who succeeded his Father the Marquess de *Louvois* as first Minister of State, to be sent upon this Affair. M. de *Barbesieux* knew very well that I had given already several Marks of my Fidelity to his Father: He was likewise inform'd of all that I had done in *Italy* for the Interest of the Court: He spoke to the King concerning me. The King, since the Death of the Marquess de *Louvois* seem'd to have forgot me; but Monsieur de *Barbesieux* having represented to him the Affairs that I had formerly the Management of: He remembered the whole, and agreed that I should go to the Court of *Brussels*. I was sent for to *Versailles*; where I had the Honour to converse with the King in his Closet, and to receive my last Instructions upon this Affair. I departed from *Paris* to go to *Brussels* with a Passport from his Electoral

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Highness. At my Arrival I went to the Court of that Prince, and desired a particular Audience. As I spoke well the *Italian* Language, he advis'd me, for the greater secrecy, to take upon me the Name of some *Italian* Lord, and give out, that I came from *Turin* upon some particular Affairs in the Behalf of his Royal Highness of *Savoy*. I call'd my self the Count *del Niego*: This Preliminary being settled, I gave his Highness a relation of my Business, adding, That if his Highness could prevail upon the King of *England*, to accept the Offers of Peace that had been presented to him by the Envoy of *Denmark*; the most Christian King would make him a Present of a Million of Livres, and secure to him and his Heirs for ever, the Possession of the *Low Countries*, provided that the King of *Spain* dies without Issue. These Offers seem'd grateful enough to the Ambition of the Elector: He answer'd me, that the Proposals that I had made him requir'd some days Deliberation, in respect to Affairs in General, which were extremely nice. That I ought to take care not to make my self known whilst I continued at *Brussels*, least the Foreign Ministers there should discover the Subject of my Negotiation, which would intallibly render him suspicious to the King of *England*, and alienate all the Confidence that that Prince repos'd in him: He told me, that he would give me an Answer as soon as possibly he could.

A few days being pass'd the Elector desir'd to speak with me, I went immediately to Court to wait upon him. He led me into his Closet, where we had a long Conference: He told me, that although his present Circumstances would not permit him now to accept of the Offers made him; yet that should not diminish the Desire that he had to oblige the King, when Opportunities might present; but that in the present Conjunction 'twas impossible for him to promise any thing positively, for certain very essential Reasons. His Electoral Highness shew'd me abundance of Friendship; upon my Departure he presented me with a Gold Watch, upon which his Picture was enamell'd. My Business at *Brussels* being dispatch'd, I took Post for *Versailles*, where I gave Mon-

Monſieur de Barbeſieux a full Account of my Negotiations. The King deſiring to ſpeak with me, I inform'd his Maſteſty of the favourable Diſpoſitions which I had left his Electoral Highneſs in, from whence very advantageous Conſequences might be drawn, if they were improv'd. 1693.

Soon after my Return, the Campaign of 1694 in *Flanders* was open'd, which was call'd the Campaign of Monſieur le Dauphin, the King's Army being commanded by that Prince. The Proſperity of his Maſteſty's Arms the preceeding Year, gave the *French* Court great Expectations from this Campaign. The Allies, on the other Hand, having been unfortunate in the laſt, exerted their greateſt Efforts to redeem their Honour in this. There was ſuch an Equality between the two Armies that nothing of Conſequence was undertaken this Campaign, till towards the latter end, when the Allies had the Courage to attack *Huy* and *Dixmude*, which Places were obliged to ſurrender to 'em. The Armies being ſent into Winter Quarters, the Duke of *Luxembourg* return'd to *Versailles*, to aſſiſt at a great Council to be held there. The 4th of *January* he died ſuddenly at that Place, by a Fit of the Apoplexy. The King, and all *France*, receiv'd an unſpeakable Loſs by his Death. The hopes of Advancement that I had flatter'd my ſelf with, ſeem'd to be buried with him. He was a Prudent and Succeſſful General, by his Courage, Skill in War, Intrepidity and Preſence of Mind, he ſupported the King's Arms, and gave his Maſteſty the Proſpect of a Glorious Peace. The King never had a General more Formidable to his Enemies, more Agreeable to his Soldiers, and more Diligent and Bold in any Enterprize. He receiv'd the firſt Elements of War in his Youth, under the Prince of *Cônde*, and learnt ſo well the Glorious Leſſons of that Famous Captain, that he ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Wars of *Holland*, at the Battles of *St. Denis*, *de Seneff*, and *de Caſſel*; but the War of 1688, whoſe principal Events we are here relating, was the Theater whereon his Valour ſhone forth with the greateſt Glory. 1694.

As the loſs of this Great Man afflicted *France*, ſo did the Death of the Queen of *England*, which hap-

1694. pen'd about the same time, afflict that Nation. The French Court began to hope that such Consequences would proceed from that Princess's Death, as would very much promote the King's Interest; our Ministers did not scruple to say, that the face of Affairs would soon change, and the *English*, accusom'd to Revolutions, would not fail either to recall their De-thron'd King, or put an end to a Foreign War that had exhausted their Treasures, and ruin'd their Commerce; and, by so doing, abandon the Interetts of other Princes, to whom they were Allied. These Presages of Future Prosperity pult up the King's Ambition, and contributed very much towards allaying those Troubles that the Death of the Duke of *Luxembourg* had brought. The Court labour'd with new Zeal upon the Preparations of the approaching Campaign, which was expected to be attended with Wonders and Triumphs. The Duke of *Villeroy* was nominated to succeed the Deceased Marshal in *Flanders*: New Propositions of Peace were under-hand made to the King of *England*, by the Ambassadors of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in hopes that the Death of the Queen's Spouse, having somewhat chang'd the Circumstance of Affairs, that Prince would become more compliable: But he was too circumspect to be surpriz'd by Propositions of Peace, which in appearance were advantageous, but in reality, very considerable. He resolv'd to continue the War, and Experience discover'd, that Fortune, who had always follow'd the Duke of *Luxembourg* in all his Expeditions, was (if we may so say) buried with him; for she abandon'd the Arms of the King, and rang'd herself amongst those of his Enemies.

Every thing being in a readines to open the Campaign, Madam de *Maintenon* (to whom the Duke of *Luxembourg* had often spoke favourably of me, and had made me known) sent for me to Court, and told me, that it was the King's Pleasure that I should make the Campaign under the Marshal de *Villeroy*, in the same Quality as I had done under the Duke of *Luxembourg*; because, that as I had always follow'd that General, and was acquainted with his Maxims, I might be of Service to M. *Villeroy*. I answer'd, that

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I was ready to obey his Majesty's Orders, and beg'd that Lady, that since I had lost all in losing the Duke of *Luxembourg*, she would be pleas'd to Honour me with her Protection, which she was pleas'd, in very obliging terms, to promise: I posted then immediately to the Army, which began to assemble.

1694.

The King of *England* form'd a Design at the Opening of the Campaign, without dispute, the most Famous of his Reign. To deceive the Duke of *Villeroy* he divid'd his Army into several Bodies. That which he commanded himself was compos'd of 70 Battallions, and 80 Squadrons, encamp'd near *Deynse*: The Second, which was to act under the Command of the Elector of *Bavaria*, consisted of 36 Battallions, and 130 Squadrons, lying near *Dendermond*: The Third, under the Command of General *Etemberg*, was 20 Battallions, and 10 Squadrons, and the Fourth consisted of 25 Battallions, commanded by the Baron *de Heyden*, and was posted between *Bref* and *Falcis*. The King of *England* made a Motion with his Army towards Fort *Knoque*, as if he had a Design to attack it. The Marshal *Villeroy*, who lay securely in his Lines, thought he had little reason to fear, since the King was going to make so inconsiderable a Siege. But that Prince taking the advantage of his mistake, order'd *Namur* to be invest'd: The Army tack'd about, and march'd with all Dilligence to the Siege of that Place. At his Arrival he caus'd a Plan of the Country to be drawn, in order to post with all possible Advantage the several Bodies of his Army to cover the Siege. The Duke of *Villeroy* was surpriz'd at this unexpected Adventure. The Marshal *Boufflers* took Seven Regiments of Dragoons, a great number of Volunteers, Engineers, Gunners, and Miners, and with these cast himself into the Town, which Place I likewise enter'd with him: Having made a Review of the Garrison, he found them 16000 strong, which, consider'd with the Strength of the Place, gave the Marshal hopes of making so vigorous a Resistance that he said, the King of *England* would repent of his undertaking that Siege. An Army for a Garrison, a Marshal of *France* to animate and command it, 100000 Men under the Marshal *Villeroy* to relieve it, 100000 Men

1695.

1695.

employ'd in the Attack, commanded by a King and an Elector, both Great Captains, was the most glorious Spectacle that the whole War has produc'd.

The King of *England* having drawn the Lines of Circumvallation, open'd the Trenches the 13th of *July*. *Villeroy* seeing it impossible to disturb the Siege, resolv'd to go out of his Lines and attack the Prince of *Vaudemont*. This Project would have saved *Namur*, if it had been executed by the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who held it for a Maxim in the Business of War, not to give the Enemy time to know his Designs; but the Duke *de Villeroy*, whilst he was using abundance of Precaution sunk into the greatest Imprudence, by giving the Prince of *Vaudemont* time to make the most glorious Retreat that has been ever heard of. The Attacks were in the mean time carried on with so much Heat and Bravery that the Confederates were ready to make a General Assault upon the Town, if Marshal *Boufflers* and the Count *de Guiscard*, who commanded the Garrison, had the Courage to stand it. Marshal *Boufflers* was of the Opinion not to surrender the Place but at the last Extremity: He plac'd a great deal of Confidence in the Bravery of the Dragoons that he had brought in with him, from whom he expected Wonders: But the *English*, whose extraordinary Courage and Intrepidity in Assaults renders them dreadful, brought the Count *de Guiscard* to other Sentiments: He told the Marshal, that he thought it not advisable to venture the Loss of a Garrison compos'd of the best Troops of *France*, but rather to put his Troops into the Castle and surrender the Town, which was done the 4th of *August*. The Town being taken, the Castle was attach'd with 160 pieces of Cannon, and 55 Mortars. Here it was that the Famous Monsieur *Coehorn*, afterward Engineer General, distinguish'd himself. The King of *England* and the Elector of *Bavaria* holding a Council of War, whereto all the Engineers of the Army were call'd, each had the Liberty of giving his Opinion concerning the Attack. Monsieur *de Coehorn* in his turn, gave his Sentiment against all the rest, who had propos'd the Ancient Method: He alledg'd, that they ought to avoid the length

length of a difficult Siege, and the loss of abundance of Officers and Soldiers, which was unavoidable, if they followed the accustomed Method: That as he had help'd to raise the greatest part of the Works of the Place, he knew very well *le fort & le foible*: That the Marshal *Boufflers* being entred into the Castle with a numerous Garrison, they ought to endeavour to destroy the Garrison, by a continual Fire from their Cannon, and with their Bombs; and by the Favour of that Fire to make their Approaches, and push forward their Works. This Gentleman was of a Temper Sweet and Calm; when he spoke, it was without Affectation or Passion. The novelty of his Reasoning, and the cool Air of his Countenance surpriz'd his Electoral Highness of *Bavaria*, who, whispering to the King, asked, who was that Philosopher? The King answer'd, that the Philosophers Name was *Coehorn*; and that if they would commit the Affair to him they should soon take the Castle of *Namur*.

The Duke of *Villeroy* having lost the Opportunity of attacking the Prince of *Vaudemont*, the King was so displeas'd, that he writ him a Letter full of Resentment. *Villeroy* throw'd the Fault upon the Duke of *Maine*, and he, in his turn, upon the Duke of *Villeroy*, which caused at Court a great Demur, where their Sentiments were different thereon. As the Siege of *Namur* went on uninterrupted, his Majesty was willing to run all Risques for the raising it: He sent new Orders to the Duke of *Villeroy*, either to Bombard *Brussels*, or fight the King of *England*. *Villeroy* then Bombarded *Brussels*, and reduced a great many publick Buildings, and almost half that great Town, into Ashes. But this Expedition, instead of saving *Namur*, served only to diminish the King's Glory, and to render the Duke of *Villeroy* odious. We, in our turn, underwent no less Desolation in our Castle of *Namur*. The King of *England* raised Five new Batteries to ruin at once all our Principal Works, so that never was a more terrible Fire seen, than that which Monsieur *Coehorn* made at that time.

The Bombardment of *Brussels* having produced nothing, the Duke of *Villeroy* return'd to put in Execution his last Project. To that end he marches into the Plain

1695. use of this Expedient to prevent the perpetual In-
 ~~~~~ fractions that were made upon Chartels and Capitulations; which were contray to the Law of Arms. The Marshal being conducted to *Maeſtricht*, desired that I would accompany him. I ſtaid Two or Three days in that Town with him, where we had all imaginable Reſpect paid us. But as his Buſineſs was to endeavour to get Clear of this Arreſt, he thought it proper to ſend to Court, and give the King a Faithful Relation of all that had paſſ'd during the Siege of *Namur*; and to repreſent to his Maſteſty the Neceſſity that there was of releaſing the Garrifons of *Deynſe* and *Dixmude* in order to procure his Releaſe. He gave me Two Letters, one to the King, and the other to Madam *Maintenon*. This is the Copy of the latter.

A Letter from Marshal *Boufflers* to the Marchionefs of *Maintenon*.

M A D A M,

W HEN I caſt my ſelf into *Namur*, I expected nothing leſs than theſe Two Events: One is, that that Important Fortreſs, which has been the chief Work of the King's Conqueſts, ſhould fall again into the Hands of his Maſteſty's Enemies; and the Other, that I ſhould be made Priſoner of War. Both theſe Events will without doubt ſurprize his Maſteſty: The firſt, in reſpect to the good Opinion his Maſteſty had of his Arms always Victorious: The ſecond, in reſpect to my Imprudence in caſting my ſelf into that Place without his Maſteſty's Orders. That is the Effect of the Fortune of War, and this of the Exceſs of my Zeal and Application to his Service, I deſire you, Madam, to excuſe me to the King. *Namur* was inveſted with ſo much Precipitation, that I had not time to wait the Return of the Courier, that Marshal *Villeroy* had diſpatch'd to Court; All the Paſſes were on a ſudden ſtopt, and 'twas by great Fortune and extraordinary Diligence, that I entred the Place with a Body of Dragoons by *Condros*, a little before the Enemies had taken poſſeſſion of that Poſt. All the Troops which compos'd the

the Garrison have signaliz'd themselves; and if the Defence of the Place had only depended on their Bravery, the Project of the Allies would without doubt have been disappointed: But the Great Fire of the Bombs, and of the Enemies Artillery, directed by the Engineer *Coeborn*, did not permit our Soldiers to appear upon the Breaches but at the Risque of their Lives. The Remains of our Garrison, which was at first 16000 Men, sufficiently shew how much we have done for the Defence of the Place; and that it was not but at the last Extremity that the Count de *Guiscard* Capitulated. As I am arrested under Pretence that the Garrisons of *Deynse* and *Dixmude* have not been released, I beg you, Madam, to employ your good Offices with his Majesty, to induce him to procure me my Liberty as soon as possible. I am, &c.

*Boufflers.*

I immediately took Post for *Versailles*: His Majesty having read the Marshal's Letter, ask'd some Questions concerning the Conduct of the General Officers, and the Bravery of the Soldiers; of all which I fully inform'd him. The King seem'd very well satisfied with the Account I gave him concerning them, but extremely uneasy at the Loss of that Important Place. He immediately gave Orders that the Garrisons of *Deynse* and *Dixmude* should be releas'd. Marshal *Boufflers* gave Advice of the same to the King of *England*, who gave him his Liberty upon his Parole, and sent a Guard to conduct him to *Dinant*.

The Armies soon after separated, and march'd into Winter Quarters. I return'd to *Paris*, where the Disadvantages the King had received this Campaign in *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Catalonia*, upon the Ocean, and upon the *Mediterranean*, renewed the Regrets of all *France*, for the Loss of the Duke of *Luxembourg*; and People did not scruple to say at Court, that the Good Fortune of the King had been buried with that Famous Captain. To put things into a better State, or rather to prevent Revolutions at Home, new Attempts of bringing the Confederate Princes to a Treaty of Peace were resolv'd upon. There were fresh hopes of engaging the Elector of *Bavaria*. As I had already been

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at that Prince's Court, Madam de Maintenon thought it proper to send me again to *Brussels* with new Instructions. She propos'd it to the King, and his Majesty consented to it. I had a long Conference with Monsieur *Chamillard* relating to my Conduct at that Court, and the Proposals I was to make to engage his Electoral Highness in the Interest of *France*.

Being arrived at *Brussels*, the Elector seem'd overjoy'd to see me again, and told me, that the King could not in any thing more oblige him than by the Choice he made of me. I received this Compliment as a Preliminary that promis'd a prosperous Success in my Negotiations. I made that time a long stay at *Brussels*, to know the real Inclinations of his Highness. That Prince is too Generous. I was one day at the Opera, where there was a young Dancer in the Habit of a *Scaramouch*, he danc'd with Abundance of Agreement. The Elector being there, was so well pleas'd with his Performance, that he was willing to shew him some Marks of his Generosity; 'calls the Keeper of his Purse, and order'd him to give the Dancer Twelve Pistoles. Who, instead of Twelve gave him but Six, thinking it was enough. If he did so to husband his Master's Purse, 'twas well enough: But if on the contrary he design'd to convert the other Six to his own Advantage, thinking it would never come to the Elector's Knowledge, it argu'd his Unfaithfulness. However it was, as I was the next day at Dinner with his Highness, the Dancer presented himself; he acknowledg'd the Elector's Favour, and gave him Thanks for it. The Elector told him, that for his Age he had a good Talent in that Art; and that if he applied himself to it he would become an able Master; asking him at the same time, how much the Keeper of his Purse had given him; the Dancer answer'd, Six Lewis d'Ors. The Elector was in such a Furious Passion, that he immediately expell'd him from his Court, and caus'd a Purse to be brought, out of which he drew Twenty Four Lewis d'Ors, which he gave the Dancer. There was a Present of Thirty Lewis d'Ors for a Dance that was not worth Two.

Another time that Prince desir'd me to go with him a Hunting. We made a long Course, and Hunt-  
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ing cross a very fine Wood, we unexpectedly found our selves near *Amers*, where we staid all Night. The next Morning about Nine a Clock he took a Fancy to go see some Celebrated Painters of that Town, with whom in less than an Hour, he laid out 200000 Livres in Fine Paintings. He always agreed to the Price that was demanded, without desiring any Abatement, altho' according to the Judgment of Artists, they were not worth half the Money. Besides these Excesses, I observed two Predominant Passions in his Highness, Gaming and Gallantry. I saw him one Evening at Court play with an Officer whose Name was *Duffarsan* with so much Passion and Eagerness, Fortune not favouring him, that he took his Hat fill'd with Guineas and turn'd 'em upon the Table, all depending upon the turn of One Card, which appear'd in the Officers Favour. He lost that Evening three times his Hat full of Gold.

I was forc'd at last to return to *Versailles* without Concluding any thing with his Highness; but having given the King an Account of all Transactions that had pass'd between the Elector and myself, and likewise a Character of his Highness's Temper and Disposition; it prov'd of great use to his Majesty in his Negotiations with his Electoral Highness after the Death of the King of *Spain*; Monsieur *Puissegur* being then at the Court of *Brussels*, so far improv'd them, that a Treaty was afterwards concluded with his Highness, but at the Great Expence of the King, costing him several Millions of Money.

At the Opening of the Campaign 1696 the King form'd two Designs, which would very much have chang'd the Face of Affairs, if they had succeeded. The first was, a new Conspiracy in *England*; the Second related to a separate Peace with the Duke of *Savoy*. To put the first Project in Execution, prodigious Preparations were made at *Dunkirk*, *St. Malo*, *Brest*, *Calais*, and *Rochefort*; and Sixty Conspirators went from *France* to *London* with the Duke of *Berwick* at their Head. At my Return from the Court of *Brussels* Monsieur *Chamillard* propos'd this Expedition to me, and would have perswaded me to accompany

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company the Duke of *Berwick* therein. I desired to be excused for the same Reasons that I have already given in the Plot of *Granvill*. But these Reasons were not sufficient to hinder him from pressing me very earnestly thereon. I told him, that there were several other Affairs at Court that I might be employ'd in, and beg'd him not to require me to enter into that Affair. He answer'd that the King had occasion of People of Fidelity to execute his Designs, and that I should do a Pleasure to his Majesty in accepting the Offer that was propos'd. As I saw that I could not disengage my self from the pressing Instances of Monsieur *Chamillard*, I went to the Marchioness of *Maintenon*, and desir'd her to get me excus'd; which she promis'd to do; and I afterwards heard no more upon that Subject.

The Project was to Assassinate King *William* when he went a Hunting; It was to be executed the 25th of *February*: His Guards were to be attack'd in a *Defile*, and his Coach afterwards, in order to stab him. The Commission given to the Conspirators was, that on the Behalf of King *James* they should attack the Prince of *Orange* in his Winter-Quarters. The Blow being struck they should make great Fires at *Dover*, as a Signal of this Bloody Tragedy. King *James*, upon the Discovery of these Signals, was to make a Descent upon *England*, with a Fleet of 36 Men of War, and about 600 Transports fill'd with choice Troops. But King *William* having discover'd the Conspiracy, went not out of his Palace that time, seiz'd upon Fifteen of the Accomplices, and made the Parliament acquainted with it. Admiral *Russel* put to Sea with a Fleet of 50 Ships of War, and sail'd to the height of *Gravelin* to find out and fight the *French* Fleet: but Tempestuous Weather which happen'd then, prevented his Design. The States General of the United Provinces, who soon took Umbraze at that Formidable Armament of *France*, believ'd that 'twas design'd to make a Descent upon the Coasts of *Zealand*. But they no sooner received Advice, that this Preparation was design'd for *England*, but they very readily sent over some Troops to secure the Tranquillity of that Kingdom, and put to Sea their

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their Fleet, which being join'd to that of *England*, ruin'd the first Project of *France*. This Fleet came to an Anchor before *Calais* the 17th of *April*; and burnt a great part of those Ships that were to Transport King *James* and his Troops into *England*. In the mean time several of the Conspirators had their Trials, and were convicted of High Treason; *Charnock*, *King*, *Keys*, *Sir John Friend*, and *Sir William Perrens*, who were of that number, were executed.

The Court of *France*, seeing their Design miscarried, on which they had founded such great Hopes of the Return of King *James*, turned all her regards towards his Royal Highness of *Savoy*, to bring him to a separate Peace. The War of *Italy* was burthenom to his most Christian Majesty, and engag'd him in vast Expences. This Negotiation was nice, and of great Importance. The Duke of *Savoy* was esteem'd a Prince refin'd in Politicks, so that the King did not scruple to sacrifice all his Conquests in *Italy* to draw that Prince from the Grand Alliance. But that which contributed most to engage him, was the Marriage of his Eldest Daughter to the Duke of *Burgundy*. His Royal Highness being not regardless of his Interest, declar'd, at last, that *France* had made him such Favourable Offers, that notwithstanding he had promis'd the Allies, never to make a separate Peace with that Crown, he could not refuse them. The King caus'd in a Triumphant manner this Peace to be Proclaim'd the 10th of *September*, which was follow'd with publick Rejoycings throughout all *France*.

The Campaign in *Flanders* was spent in Marches and Countermarches: The King of *England* endeavour'd to come to a Decisive Battle; but Marshal *Boufflers*, who commanded the *French* Army, had Orders from Court not to risque any thing. At Sea, my Lord *Berkley*, who commanded an *English* Fleet, Bombarded *St. Martin, de Re*, and *Olonne*; made a descent in the Isle of *Gronai* near *Port Louis*, and in two other Places of *Belle Isle*, where he burnt several Villages. But all these Enterprizes contributed more to augment the Desolation and Misery of the People, than to introduce Peace.

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The Court of *France* perceiving by the Peace made with the Duke of *Sevry*, that secret Negotiations produced greater Advantages, than numerous Armies, resolved to send some Person of Fidelity *incognito* into *Holland*, to make Overtures of Peace. I was then at *Paris*, and the Marchioness de *Maintenon* did me the Honour to propose me in Council, to be charg'd with this Affair, which would have procured great Advantages to me; and besides the Happiness of being raised to a Post of Distinction, would have contributed much towards making me publicly known. Monsieur de *Pontchartrain*, the Marquess de *Torcy*, and M. de *Pomponne* consented to it, and the King seem'd to approve of their choice: But M. de *Chamillard*, taking this occasion to shew me the marks of his Displeasure, for my refusing him to accompany the Duke of *Berwick* in the last Conspiracy, propos'd M. de *Cailliers*, at which I was not at all surpriz'd. Chief Ministers are dangerous Enemies when a Man has the Misfortune to disoblige 'em; but as I had sufficient reasons for refusing that Engagement, I easily consoled my self for the Forfeiture that I had made of his Favour, on a Subject of that Nature. Monsieur de *Cailliers* being then prefer'd by the Recommendation of M. *Chamillard*, the Court invested him with full Power; and he sets out for *Holland*, where he made Proposals of Peace very advantageous to the Allies; he offer'd on the part of his Majesty to acknowledge King *William* for lawful King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; to restore a great Number of Fortresses and conquer'd Countrys, and put Affairs into a kind of Ballance, that *Europe* might have no longer Cause to be jealous of the greatness of the Crown of *France*.

Divers Motives inclin'd the Confederate Princes to hearken to these Proposals of Peace; they had made War for Nine Years against *France* with Abundance of Uncertainty, and little Success: It had cost *England* and *Holland*, who bore the Burthen of the Charge almost every where, immense Sums. These two Powers, fatigu'd with the Weight of a Foreign War, which contributed more to lessen than aggrandize 'em, were very willing to put an end to it, by a good Peace;  
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and besides, the Duke of *Savoy* having made a separate Treaty, the Allies might expect to see themselves attack'd with more numerous Armies, both in *Germany* and *Flanders*. The King of *France* was weary of the War as well as his Enemies, and did not want particular Motives to induce him to enter into a Treaty of Peace, as we shall see hereafter.

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The Campaign of 1697 however begins, and was a mixture of Pacifick Negotiations, and Military Expeditions. The Arms of both Parties that had already made such great Destructions, began by degrees to lose their Activity. But Orders came from Court that we should push on the War with more Vigour than ever, in order to obtain better Conditions by the Treaty that was then Negotiating. The King indeed augmented his Forces every where, sent Three Marshals of *France* into the *Netherlands*, viz. Monsieur *Catinat*, *Villeroi* and *Boufflers*. I had not found the like Satisfaction in the Service since the Death of the Duke of *Luxembourg* as before, which occasion'd my staying at *Paris* the last Campaign. The Reputation that Marshal *Catinat* had gain'd in *Italy*, and the great Encomiums that were given him at Court, made me desirous of serving under him this Campaign, which I did in Quality of first Aid de Camp. *Catinat* open'd the Campaign by the Siege of *Aeth* with an Army of 40000 Men. *Villeroi* and *Boufflers* with two others, cover'd the Siege. The King of *England* and Elector of *Bavaria* having form'd their Army, made divers motions to succour that Place. But considering that it was not advisable to hazard a Battle against a much superior Army, since *France* would be oblig'd to surrender *Aeth* again, they judg'd it more proper to chuse a Camp that might cover the Country the rest of the Campaign. These two Princes march'd then to *Anderlecht* with all possible diligence to prevent the three Marshals of *France*, who had the same Design. This Post was of so great Importance, that if the *French* Generals had made themselves Masters of it, they would have taken *Brussels*, and cut off the Communication which the Confederates had with *Holland*. These Generals having march'd almost as far as *Anderlecht*

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were extremely surpriz'd to see the Enemies Army intrench'd in that lost, which oblig'd them to return, not a little chagrind, to have fail'd in an Enterprize that would intirely have broken all the Measures of the King of England and Elector of Bavaria. Whilst all these Motions in Flanders tended only to facilitate a Peace, and to bring the Confederate Princes more readily to accept of it, there presented themselves two extraordinary Events, which were no little Assistance to the Designs of France. The first was, the taking and plundering of *Carthagea* in the *West Indies*, by the Baron de *Pombis*, from whence he brought Immense Riches. This Expedition contributed much towards redressing the exhausted Finances of France, and put the King in a Condition to continue the War at the Expence of his Enemies. The Duke of *Vendome*, on the other side, having beat the Spanish Army, became Master of *Barcelona* after Two Months Siege, in spite of the prodigious Valour that the Prince of *Darmstadt* shew'd to defend it. By the Conquest of this important Place that General found himself in a Condition to carry the War into the Heart of Spain, which had but very few Troops to oppose him. The Taking of *Barcelona* gave a new Lustre to the King's Arms at a time when a Peace was Negotiating to follow. On the other Hand, it caus'd great Alarm at the Court of *Madrid*. The Court of France plainly foresaw the Consequences that this Conquest would produce, when the Plenipotentiaries of Spain received Orders to sign the Treaty of Peace as soon as possible, they could. In the mean time Prince *Eugene* gain'd a great Victory over the *Turks*, which much abated the Haughtiness of France. For that Prince having attack'd them at *Zenta* made so great a Carnage that there was above 20000 kill'd upon the Place, and the Remains of their Army made Prisoners or drown'd. The Grand Vizier, the Aga of the Janizaries, and 30 Basha's lost their lives there. There was found upon the field of Battle Immense Riches, of which the Imperialists made an Incredible Booty. The great Loss that the *Turks* received in this Battle, gave the King

King just Reason to believe, that they would soon come to an Accommodation with the Emperor, 1697.

As every thing appear'd with the Countenance of Peace stamp'd upon it; we, in a great measure, left the Cares of the Army, pleasantly to divert ourselves. There was a kind of Cessation of Arms, by favour of the Conferences held at the Head of the two Armies, between Marshal *Boufflers* and the Count of *Portland*: These Conferences were agreed upon by the two Kings, in order to regulate some Preliminaries, which could not be adjust'd in General Conferences, without Conteſts that would ſcarcely be ſurmoun'ted. This Truce gave us Opportunities of viſiting each other in our Tents, where Pleaſures and Plenty flow'd in as great Abundance as at *Paris*. Gallantry, which is inſeparably mix'd with War, poſſeſſing the Minds of the chief Generals, as well as Inferior Officers, who each in their Turn embrac'd the Pleaſures of their Miſtreſſes.

Marshal *Boufflers* (who paſſ'd at Court for a Man of no great Genius in making Treaties; but more proper to appear at the Head of a Flying Army) at laſt ended the Affair with the Count of *Portland*. 'Twas agreed upon betwixt 'em, that the King of *France* ſhould for the future acknowledge the Prince of *Orange* for King of *England*, &c. *Boufflers* ſpoke of this Acknowledgement as a great Condeſcenſion in the Court of *France*; which indeed was nothing at all. King *James* ſeeing himſelf but a Sacrifice to the Intereſt of *France*, complain'd to the Moſt Chriſtian King his Ally, that he was abandon'd after he had caſt himſelf into ſo great a Precipice. But as the King of *France* made and unmade Kings at his Pleaſure, he gave his Royal Word to that unfortunate Prince, that his Intereſt ſhould not fail of finding a Place in his Heart ſo long as he lived; and indeed he gave real Marks of his Integrity a few Years after; for when King *James* came to die, he immediately acknowledged the Young Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, and thereby broke thro' the Engagements that were made by Marshal *Boufflers*, with the Count of *Portland*, in that celebrated Interview which they had at *Tubiſe*. As the Court of *France* foreſaw what

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would happen, they took care whilst they acknowledged the Prince of *Orange* as King, to protest to King *James* against every thing that should be transacted at the Peace of *Reswick*, contrary to his Interest. According to this Plan the Prince of *Orange* was only acknowledg'd for King, but to make a Peace, which being done, the Scene chang'd. When Occasions offer'd, they acknowledg'd the Prince of *Wales* for King, which happen'd upon the Entering into a new War on the Subject of *Spain*, which at this time employ'd all the Thoughts and Deliberations of the King and his Ministers. The Acknowledgement of King *William*, which was to serve as a Preliminary to the Treaty of *Reswick* being regulated, the Plenipotentiaries all met at the *Hague*. I shall not pretend to give an account here of what pass'd at that Famous Negotiation, nor of the Treaty that was concluded and sign'd, because they have been already publish'd, and besides 'twould be somewhat foreign to my Subject, I shall only say, that the Plenipotentiaries of *France* advis'd the King, that there were great Difficulties to surmount in that Negotiation, occasion'd by the diverse Interests of so many Princes. They thought it proper for the Court to make use of some underhand Artifices to bring the Confederates more readily to Peace. *M. du Harlay* first Plenipotentiary wrote the following Letter to his Majesty upon that Subject.

Monfieur *du Harlay* (first Plenipotentiary of *France* at the Treaty of *Reswick*) his Letter to the King.

S I R,

WE have at last begun our Conferences, by regulating several matters of Ceremony, and every thing that may tend to prevent Differences which may happen between Ambassadors on the Subject of Visits. The 10th of *July* we deliver'd the Project of Peace that Monfieur *Chamillard* sent us to the Mediator, declaring at the same time that they were the last Resolutions upon which your Majesty would treat. It has been answer'd, That the said Project is express'd in very ambiguous Terms, and we

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are desir'd more clearly to explain 'em. We have  
 replied, That there could be no Alterations made in  
 that Project, and if they were not satisfied with it,  
 the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies might present an-  
 other themselves, and that without delay; otherwise  
 we should look upon every thing that had been re-  
 gulated in the Preliminaries as void. Upon the de-  
 lays which they have made, we have, according to  
 the Instructions which we have received from Court,  
 represented to 'em, that your Majesty's Arms being  
 every where Victorious and Triumphant, we should  
 only expect their Answer to the 10th of September,  
 after which time we should break off our Conferen-  
 ces, being really perswaded that your Majesty would  
 recall us. The Mediator has thereupon signified to  
 us, that it was your Majesty's Interest to use a lit-  
 tle more Moderation, because there were several  
 Plenipotentiaries amongst the Allies that were more  
 inclin'd to break off than continue the Conferences.  
 We have even been surpriz'd at the Haughty Answer  
 that the Plenipotentiary of the States has given us  
 thereupon, *Viz.* That if we were so pressing they would  
 order Passports to be got ready for our Return. These  
 Considerations have engag'd us to use a little more  
 Art, not to souse so many jarring Minds, who are  
 already too much divided by their Diversity of In-  
 terests; since which the Ministers of the Emperor  
 deliver'd in their Answer, and we have begun the  
 Conferences. We have observ'd, that the Conquest  
 of *Barcelona* by the Arms of your Majesty, has made  
 great Impressions upon 'em; since that time the  
 Ministers of *Spain* appear more desirous of conclu-  
 ding the Peace. We believe, as I have already writ  
 to Monsieur *Chamillard*, that some Presents made  
 underhand would very much facilitate this Affair,  
 which your Majesty has so great an Interest in by  
 the approaching Death of the King of *Spain*. We  
 humbly beg your Majesty to believe, that whilst  
 we are waiting your Orders, we shall make use of  
 all Opportunities to give your Majesty tokens of  
 our Zeal and intire Application to your Service.

I am, &c.

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The Court having consider'd Monsieur *Harlay's* Letter, thought it not improper to make use of some secret Intrigue. I have already said that M. de *Cailliers* was prefer'd before me, by the private Resentment of M. de *Chumillard*. I was at this time idle in the Army; but the Marchioness de *Maintenon* was pleas'd in my absence to take care of my Fortune, and shew some concern for me at Court; perhaps in return, being gall'd at the little regard that Monsieur *Chumillard* had to her Recommendation of me before, she propos'd me now to cross that Minister. As for me, I thought of nothing less than seeing *Holland*. I was agreeably diverting my self in the Army, and waiting for the end of the Campaign, when I received a Letter from the Marchioness of *Maintenon*, being therein order'd to come to Court immediately. I took Post for *Fersailles*: as soon as I arriv'd I went to wait upon Madam *Maintenon*, who told me smiling, That altho' I had not been Invested with the Character of Plenipotentiary to the Treaty of *Keswick*, in the room of Monsieur de *Guilliers*, as she desired, she nevertheless brought it so about that I should have some Share therein. She told me further, That Monsieur de *Ponchartrain* had Orders to inform me of the Business that I was requir'd to undertake for the Service of his Majesty, and order'd me to wait upon him the next Morning. I went then to that Minister, who told me, That the King had cast his Eye upon me to be employ'd in an Affair which requir'd Secrecy; that he should deliver into my Hands something of a very considerable Value, with which I was to go to *Holland*, and present it with my own Hands to a Person that Monsieur du *Harlay* should direct me to. After this Discourse he order'd me to be ready for my Journey by five a Clock that Afternoon, and that I should return to him after Dinner, which I did. He deliver'd to me a Box seal'd up, and order'd me not to open it till I presented it to the Person design'd, with such a Compliment as Monsieur du *Harlay*, at my Arrival at the *Hague*, should instruct me to make. The Discourse that this Minister entertain'd me with, the Box seal'd, and the Person unknown to whom I was to present it, the Circumstance of not opening it before

I came to present it, the Compliment that I was to make; all this appear'd very Myſterious, and brought to my Remembrance the Entertainment that I had with the late Marquês *de Louvois* before my Departure for the Courts of *Italy*, where I knew nothing of my Buſineſs till I came upon the Spot. I left the Court with the precious Charge that was committed to me, and happily arrived at *Delf*, where the Ambaſſadors of *France* had their Reſidence. I alighted from my Horſe at *Monſieur du Harlay's* Houſe, he ſhew'd me a thouſand Civilities, and gave me my laſt Inſtructions for diſcharging me of my Box: Indeed I was always afraid that ſome crafty Pick pocket would have ſaved me that Labour, which would have been a great Fortune for him, and have made me the miſerableſt of Men, and for ever have diſgrac'd me at Court. *Monſieur du Harlay* having given me his Valet de Chambre for a Guide, he brought me to the *Hague* to *Madam de -----* Ambaſſadriſſe; it was about Eleven a Clock in the Morning, and that Lady was then undreſt; I ask'd if I might without Inconveniency, make her a particular Viſit. A Page went up immediately to the Ambaſſadriſſe's Chamber, and acquainted her with my Compliment. At the Words particular Viſit ſhe had ſome Idea of the Occaſion of my Coming, and was very impatient to ſee me, or rather ſhe had a great Deſire to ſee the Preſent that I brought, for I believe *Monſieur du Harlay* had given ſome ſigns of it before hand. The Page, who carried the Meſſage to his Lady, being return'd, told me, that I ſhould be very welcom, and deſir'd me to walk up to his Lady's Chamber. When I came up ſhe had ſent every Body out of the Room, and received me with a ſmiling, joyful Air. I was ſmitten with her Beauty, and her tender, courteous Behaviour, together with her morning Dreſs, which infinitely encreaſed her Charms. All this was not, however, ſufficient to make me forget the Compliment that I was to make her. I open'd at laſt my Box, and preſented her the Jewels that were in it; they were valued worth half a Million. When I put them into the Ambaſſadriſſe's Hands I told her, ' That the King had ſo great an Eſteem for her Perſon, by the Report

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‘ Report that he had heard of her Merit and Noble  
 ‘ Qualities, that his Majesty was desirous of giving  
 ‘ Marks thereof, by sending the Present that I had  
 ‘ brought her. I added, that the King had done me  
 ‘ a singular Honour in giving me a Commission which  
 ‘ procur’d me the Happiness of Saluting and paying  
 ‘ my Respect to her. The Ambassadrice answer’d,  
 ‘ That she had a great Veneration for his Majesty,  
 ‘ and would never forget these signal Marks that he  
 ‘ had given her of his Generosity ; and as for me, she  
 ‘ gave me abundance of Thanks for all the Pains that  
 ‘ I had taken.

My Business with the Ambassadrice being done, I returned to Monsieur *Harlay* at *Delf*, and gave him an Account of my Reception: All things succeeded very well, and our Plenipotentiaries in a little time gather’d the Fruits of the King’s Complaisance to this Lady: The Difficulties which obstructed the Peace were soon remov’d. The King has always dexterously made use of Women to accomplish his Designs, and there has been few Negotiations of Importance, wherein the Court of *France* has not made use of Womens Assistance, witness what pass’d in *England*, under the Reign of King *Charles II.* who was esteem’d a voluptuous Prince, with whom the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* acted a part which had like to have ruin’d him, and been the intire Subversion of his Kingdoms.

The Ambassadrice that I am speaking of, pass’d for the most celebrated Beauty in all the Seven Provinces. No Body that saw her could avoid being affected with a thousand Charms that so gloriously adorn’d her. As she was distinguish’d by that Excellency of Nature peculiar to her Sex (*viz.*) Beauty; so was she likewise by the Fineness of her Wit and Capacity of Mind. This Character agreed wonderfully well with the Designs of *France*, and *M. du Harlay*, who was perfectly acquainted with the Force of a secret Intrigue of this Nature, admirably well advis’d the King. Perhaps if Madam the Ambassadrice had been less Beautiful, or the Affairs of *France* less Urgent, his Majesty would not have been willing to sacrifice so large a Sum ; but the Affection which that Monarch has

has always born to fine Women, and the Advantages which he had in view, easily dispens'd with the Richness of his Present; and what might he not have given to buy at once a Peace which would produce such Great Advantages to his Majesty, in Relation to the Succession of his House, to so many Fine Kingdoms, which the Monarchy of *Spain* is compos'd of.

Having executed the Orders I had received from Court, and no other Business to detain me in *Holland*, I took leave of Monsieur *du Harlay* to return to *Versailles*. That Minister having seen a Manuscript design'd for the Press, Intitul'd, *The History of Madam Maintenon and Monsieur d'Aubigne her Grandfather*, perswaded that he should do Madam *Maintenon* a singular Pleasure in preventing the Impression of that Work, which would have made a great Noise in the World, bought it of the Author for Thirty Lewis d'Ors; he gave me this Manuscript, and desir'd me to present it to Madam *Maintenon*, and to assure her of the fervent Zeal he always had to oblige her; that he was overjoy'd at his finding this Opportunity in suppressing a Work, which would have lessen'd the Respect that all *France* had for her Person, and Illustrious House. If Monsieur *du Harlay* was very glad to obtain thereby the Marchioness *de Maintenon's* Favour, who was the first mover of the Court, and Dispensatrice of all it's Favours; I, for my part, was not displeas'd with being charged with a Commission which would make me acceptable to her. Being return'd to *Versailles*, I perform'd with Pleasure my promise to Monsieur *du Harlay*, and gave the Marchioness *de Maintenon* and the Ministers of the Court at the same time an Account of my Negotiations.

The Ambassadors of *France* resolv'd to push on vigorously the Work of Peace, limited the Plenipotentiaries of the Confederate Princes to the 20th of *September* to deliberate upon the Offers that had been made 'em, and before that Day to accept or refuse the same; which day being come, they put the last Hand to that great Work. The Treaty between *France* and the *United Provinces* was Sign'd at Midnight, that with *Spain* an Hour afterwards, and that with *England* at Three a Clock in the Morning. I

shall

1697. shall not take any notice here of the Complaints that the Imperial Ministers, and those of other Confederate Princes made to those Three Powers that had made a separate Peace; only that they reproach'd them in saying, that they were treated at the Peace of *Reswick*, as they had been done at that of *Nimeguen*. But all their Reproaches signifi'd nothing, they gave them such an Answer as must satisfy 'em, if they were truly possess'd with a Spirit of Pacification. At last, the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, and the other Princes, resolv'd to make Peace with *France*, and so put an end to a War, that had continued Nine Years, cost vast Sums of Money, impoverish'd the People of all Nations that were concern'd in it, and destroyed an Infinite Number of Men.

I have before hinted, that the principal Reason that induc'd the King to conclude a Peace so suddenly, was the approaching Death of the King of *Spain*. It was his Majesty's Interest to disunite so many Powers in Alliance, whose Concurrence, by the Union of their Armies, would have been fatal to his Designs, if His Catholick Majesty had died in the time of the Negotiation of that Peace: For, instead of terminating it would have open'd again the Theatre of War more Bloody then before; the Confederate Princes would without doubt have doubled their Efforts, and contest'd Sword in Hand the Succession of *France* to the Monarchy of *Spain*. The King then drew very great Advantages, by the Intrigues that his Plenipotentiaries us'd to hasten this Negotiation; for Peace being made, all the Confederate Princes disarm'd; and none but his Majesty kept his Armies on foot with a Resolution to make use of 'em upon the first Advice that he had of the King of *Spain's* Death. And as there was a Necessity of using a Stratagem that might deceive so many Princes, and give them cause to believe, that the King seeing himself so far advanced in Years, desired nothing more than the preservation of Peace; they invented at Court a new Treaty which produced all the effect that they could desire, I mean the Treaty of Partition. I was then at *Versailles*, daily giving my Attendance upon the Marchioness of *Maintenon*, and the Chief Ministers of the

the Court. They thought fit to employ me in the Negotiation of that Treaty, which I shall lay down here at length, because it has open'd the Theater of the War of *Spain*, which we are going to give an Account of. But I will first make a Recital of some remarkable particulars, which pass'd in the Execution of this Treaty, which the publick is ignorant of, and I had my self a great Share in.

The King was so uneasie at the Transactions of the Court of *Madrid* against his Interest, a little after the Peace of *Reswick*, that he was resolv'd to revenge himself. The Case was thus; the King of *England* having a serious regard upon the present State of *Europe*, believ'd that we should never enjoy a Solid Peace, unless the King of *Spain*, *Charles II.* should name an Heir in his Life time, to the Exclusion of the Infants of *France*. To effect this, his *Britannick* Majesty us'd his utmost Endeavour at the Court of *Madrid* to engage the King of *Spain* to nominate the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, who was Grandson to his Sister that married the Emperor, for his Heir and Successor. The King of *Spain* then made his Will, and declar'd therein that young Prince to be his Successor. Altho' this Will was made with Abundance of Secrecy, the King of *France* or his Ministers nevertheless found means to get a Copy of it the very Day that the King of *Spain* sign'd it. Then the Most Christian King gave clear Marks of his Resentment, and order'd the Marquess de *Harcourt*, his Ambassador at the Court of *Madrid*, to present a Memoir to his Catholick Majesty. He complain'd of what was done, and threatn'd to revenge himself for their attempting to exclude for ever the lawful Rights of his Children to the Succession of *Spain*. This is a Copy of the Memoir.

The Marquess de *Harcourt*'s Memoir to the King of *Spain*, upon his Catholick Majesty's Will, in favour of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*.

S I R, I am order'd by the King my Master to inform your Majesty, that after the positive Assurance that I had given him on the part of your Majesty,

1698. Majesty, that you would not admit any Innovation contrary to the Peace, or an exact Observation of it; it would have been very difficult for him to give Credit to the News which runs abroad of a Will made by your Majesty in Favour of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, if it was not confirmed to him in a manner out of all doubt. Since then, Sir, the King my Master cannot depend upon the intire Confidence that he plac'd on your Majesty's Royal Word; he would believe himself wanting in that Friendship which your Majesty has on his part received signal marks of, in the Conclusion of the Peace; and likewise in his Duty to the Conservation of the Peace of *Europe*; and also in maintaining the Right that the Laws and inviolable Customs of this Monarchy have establish'd in Favour of Monseigneur the Dauphine, his only Son; if his Majesty should not declare at present, as he orders me to do now to your Majesty; that he will take such necessary measures that may at the same time hinder the Renovation of the War, and the Injustice that is offer'd him. I must add, Sir, to this, that the most ardent desire of the King my Master is, that your Majesty may reign many Years over the Estates that by your Birthright you have received from God. Your Majesty knows that I have not made any Instances on his part relating to the Succession; and, in fine, your Majesty may consider whether the Impartial Behaviour of the King my Master, and the Desire that he hath testified of keeping a perfect Intelligence with your Majesty, merits any such Resolutions, in which all *Europe* will reproach your Majesty, if unfortunately, all the Cares of the King my Master should not be able to hinder the universal Tranquillity of *Europe* from being troubled by this unforeseen Accident.

His Catholick Majesty apprehending that the Most Christian King's Relentment tended to the renewing of the War, order'd an Answer to be made to the Marquess de *Harcourt's* Memoir, which was presented by *Don Leonard d'Elzenis*; in these Words.

S I R,

SIR,  
 HIS Majesty having seen and consider'd the Memoir deliver'd to him by your Excellency the 19th of *January* last, has ordered me to tell your Excellency, that being most assuredly perswaded, that he has never been wanting in any thing intirely, and punctually to observe the Peace, as he has signified to your Excellency upon other Occasions, so will he always persevere in the same Sentiments; and upon all Occasions propose no other End than the Tranquillity of *Europe*, with a Zeal equal to that of his Most Christian Majesty: That nevertheless your Excellencies Offices have a little surpriz'd him, especially at a time wherein, by the Goodness of God (which hath restored his Health) he finds himself in a Condition not to be oblig'd by any motives that are thought to put him upon hasty Resolutions; but rather to hope that he shall be able to Correspond a long time with Friendship, and the Esteem that his Most Christian Majesty has testified for him; to concur with him in the maintenance of publick Peace; and at last to leave that Union and Correspondence for a Maxim to Posterity. This is what his Majesty desires to obtain of God by the Vows and Prayers of his faithful Subjects. God preserve your Excellency, and give you many happy Years. Sir, I kiss your Excellency's Hands, and am your most Humble Servant,

*Madrid the 3d of  
 Febr. 1699.*

*Anthoine de Urbella y Medina.*

The Marquês de Harcourt could not relish this ambiguous Answer, and replied, that the King his Master would not be satisfied with it. He immediately dispatch'd a Courier with it to his Majesty. But the Decease of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* put an end to this Difference. As Death respects Princes no more than other Men, it took the young Successor to the Monarchy of *Spain* out of the World in his tender Youth. He died in *February* 1699. Whether his Death was Natural or Violent, I leave to the Decision of

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of those that calculate Nativities, and content my self in saying, that the Court of *France*, who knew the Secret perhaps better than any Body, now took Measures sufficient to revenge themselves: She contrived the Treaty of Partition, both to dazle the Powers of *Europe* interested in the Succession of *Spain*, and to hinder the like Accident for the future: but the principal end was to become entire Mistress of a Succession which created so many Jealousies. Count *Tallard* made the first Project of that Famous Treaty, he communicated it to the Marquess de *Torcy*, and Monsieur de *Pompeune*, and these Ministers propos'd it to the King. Several private Conferences were held at *Versailles* thereupon, where all his Majesty's Principal Ministers assembled. The Court was never so much occupied as at this time: And indeed the King and his Ministers did not lose their Labour. The Affair was Serious and Important, since it was to put his Majesty into the Possession of all the Monarchy of *Spain*. *France* had been engag'd in so long a War to support the Rights that the Infants of *France* had to the Crown of *Spain*, and indeed to so little effect, that 'twas believed at Court that Count *Tallard* had been Divine inspir'd, in contriving a Treaty that would enthrone all the Princes of *Europe*, without the Effusion of Blood. From that time Count *Tallard* came into Favour, and was esteem'd at Court as a Man of an extraordinary Genius. He was sent in Embassies of Distinction, and advanced to the highest Posts of War.

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The Treaty of Partition having then been approved by the King and his Ministers, they resolv'd to make a Proposal of it to the Earl of *Jersey*, who succeeded the Earl of *Portland* in his Embassy to *France*. His Majesty gave the Earl a private Audience, and told him, That as the Peace of *Reswick* had reconciled him to the King of *England* his Master, he wish'd for nothing more than such means as would contribute to render that Peace firm and lasting, not doubting but his Britannick Majesty was of the same Sentiments: That notwithstanding, if the King of *Spain* should die, the indisputable Rights that Monsieur the *Dauphin* had to that Succession would indispenfably engage

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engage him to take up Arms again, and enter into a new War, which would be more prejudicial to the Repose of *Europe*, than all that he had made during the whole course of his Reign ; yet he was very well assured, that if the King of *England* would give his Consent to a new Treaty, the Project of which he would communicate to him, it would for ever secure Peace. After this Overture the Earl of *Jersey* had several Conferences with the Marquês de *Torcy*, and Monsieur de *Pomponne*, upon the Treaty of Partition, and having inform'd the King of *England* of it, that Prince consented to it. It was agreed upon by both Parties that the Negotiation should begin. As this Affair was of the greatest Importance to the King's Interest, and requir'd Secrecy, the Court thought it proper to commit the whole Direction of it to Count *Tallard*, that he might act according to the Plan that he himself had form'd, but as that Count could not act but in *England*, and there was a Necessity of some other Person under him, to push it forward amongst the Lords of the States General of the United Provinces ; the Marchioness de *Maintenon* propos'd me to the King : I was call'd to Court ; his Majesty told me, that as I had acquitted my self with abundance of Zeal and Fidelity, in several Affairs that the late Marquês de *Louvois* had committed to my Charge ; he would send me to the Court of *England* to Count *Tallard* : That after I had taken necessary Instructions from that Minister, I should go *incognito* into *Holland* to Monsieurs the States General to put them in Execution, without communicating any thing of it to Monsieur de *Bonrepeaux* his Ambassador at the *Hague* ; not being willing, says the King, that this Affair should pass thro' any other Hands. In obedience to his Majesty's Commands I departed to go to *London*. Whilst this Treaty was negotiating I made several Voyages between *England* and *Holland*. When I was at the *Hague*, I resided *incognito* at Monsieur the Grand Pensioner's House, with whom I confer'd, and that Illustrious Minister receiv'd me with Abundance of Kindness and Civility. At my return to *England* I inform'd Count *Tallard* of every thing that had passed in *Holland*, and as any Difficulties presented them-

1700. selves that Ambassador gave me new Instructions for my Government therein; and then repassing the Sea, I applied my self again to Monsieur the Pensioner; My Conferences were kept so secret that Monsieur de Bonrepeaux, with whom I loved to go often to dine, knew nothing of the Business till the Treaty was ready to be Sign'd: I deceiv'd him by pretending that my Business in *Holland*, was to purchase something for Count *Tallard*, and to deceive others, I pretended to be the Count's Eccury.

Count *Tallard*, in the mean time had Orders from Court to confer with the Earl of *Portland*. That Lord had a great part in the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Reswick*; and the Conferences that he had with Marshal *Boufflers* at *Tubuse*, where many Difficulties were adjust'd, relating to the Preliminaries of that Peace, had caused our Ministers to have a great Opinion of his Merit, and Value for his Person; and the King to shew his Esteem for him, gave him all imaginable Marks of Honour, whilst he was upon his Embassy at the Court of *France*. The Treaty being ready to be Sign'd in *England*, there happen'd an unforeseen Accident, which had like to have broken all our Measures. The King of *England* receiv'd a Letter from his Envoy at the Court of *Madrid*, which gave him advice, that the Marquess d' *Harcourt* used his utmost Endeavours to engage the Ministers of the King of *Spain* to perswade his Catholick Majesty to make a Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*. The King communicates the Letter to Count *Tallard*, and tells him, That if the Negotiations could not be carried on with Sincerity by both Parties, he would not so much as speak any more concerning the Treaty of Partition. Count *Tallard* seeing this Affair was like to take an ill turn, did all he could to deface the ill Impressions that this Letter had made upon the King's Mind, relating to the Conduct of the Marquess de *Harcourt*. His Britannick Majesty could not yet be satisfied, he was willing to have some clearer Light in this Affair, before he made any further Proceedings. He sent for M. *Prior*, who had been at *Paris* with the Earl of *Portland*, in quality of his Secretary, and gave him a Letter writ with his own Hand to the Most  
Chri-

Christian King, with Orders to deliver it himself to that Monarch, and not to return from the Court of France before he had an Answer from his Majesty's own Hands. The King of England represented in that Letter, 'The just Motives that he had to take 'Ill the Marquess de Harcourt's Conduct at the Court 'of Madrid, who was carrying on an Intrigue to bring 'the King of Spain to make a new Will in favour of 'the Infants of France, in which case the Treaty of 'Partition was altogether useless. He desired his Majesty to let him know upon what he might depend, 'before he Sign'd the said Treaty, which he was resolved not to do, before he had a previous Answer 'from his Majesty that might set an Affair of so great 'Importance into a clearer Light. M. Pryor executed the Orders of that Prince, arrived at Versailles, had Audience of the King, and deliver'd him the Letter. His Majesty answer'd the King of England with his own Hand; 'That what had been reported to him 'concerning the Marquess de Harcourt, was without 'any Foundation, since he had never given him the 'like Orders: But yet to take away all subject of Distrust and Jealousie, he gave his Royal Word, That 'notwithstanding any thing that might happen at the 'Court of Madrid, if even a Will should be made in 'favour of his Children, he would never depart from 'the Treaty of Partition. The King of England having received so positive an Answer, scrupled no more to Sign the Treaty.

Monfieur de Bonrepeaux having perceived what was done in a Negotiation that the Court had conceal'd from him, was very much chagrined at it. He had before that resided at several Courts in the North, where he manag'd Affairs with the Applause of all the Ministers. Besides that he was invested with the Character of Ambassador of France to the States General, and as he was in that Quality, the Court ought to have committed the care to him to act in Holland, as it had done to Count Tallard to act in England. The little Confidence that had been plac'd in him, and the Injustice that the Court had done him, induc'd that Minister to write to the Marquess de Torcy to beg the King to recall him, pretending that he found him-

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self a little Indispos'd, and that the Air of *Holland* did not agree with him. The Marquess *de Torcy* easily perceiv'd that M. *de Bonrepeaux* was dissatisfied, and that indeed he had reason to be so ; nevertheless he desir'd the King to recall him. His Majesty granted it, and sent at the same time an Order to Count *Briord*, who resided at the Court of *Savoy* to go to the *Hague* in the Place of M. *de Bonrepeaux*. Count *Briord* having left his Secretary M. *de Vray* at *Turin* to pay his Debts, immediately departed for the *Hague*, where he arriv'd the 18th of *March* 1700 ; the 25th of the same Month he Sign'd the Treaty of Partition as Ambassador of the Most Christian King to the States.

The Treaty of Partition between the Most Christian King, the King of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*.

**B**E it known to all Persons to whom these Presents shall come, That the most Serene, most Mighty Prince *Lewis XIV.* by the Grace of God King of *France*, &c. and the most Serene, and most Mighty Prince *William III.* by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, laying nothing more to Heart than by new Bonds to strengthen the good Intelligence establish'd between his Most Christian Majesty, his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General, by the last Treaty concluded at *Reswick* ; and to prevent, by Measures taken in time, the Accidents that may excite a new War in *Europe*, have given a full Power for concluding a new Treaty ; his Most Christian Majesty to the Sieur *Camille d'Antem*, Count *de Tallard*, Lieutenant General of the King's Armies in his Province of *Dauphine*, Ambassador Extraordinary from *France* to *England* ; and to the Sieur *Gabriel* Count *de Briord*, Marquess of *Senosan*, Counsellor to the King in all his Councils, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to the Lords the States General of the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*.

His

His said Britannick Majesty, to *William* Earl of *Portland*, Viscount *Cirencester*, Baron of *Woodstock*, Knight of the Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesty's Privy Council; and to *Edward* Earl of *Jersey*, Viscount *Villers* Baron of *Hoo*, Knight Marshal of *England*, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and one of his Privy Council. And the Lords the States General to *John Van Essan*, Burgo-master and Senator of the City of *Zutphen*, Overseer of the University of *Haerderwick*; *Frederick*, Baron de *Rede St. Anthony*, &c. of the Order of the Nobility of *Holland* and *West-Frise*; *Anthony Heinsius*, Councillor, Pensioner, and Keeper of the Seal, and Superintendant of the same Provinces; *William de Nassau*, Lord of *Oldyke*, &c. and Principal Nobleman, representing the Nobility in the States of *Zealand*; *Everarde de Weede*, Lord of *Dykzwelt*, *Ratcles*, &c. Fondatory, Lord of *Oudwater*, Rector of the Imperial Chamber of *St. Mary's* at *Utrecht*, Dyckgraet of the River *Rhine* in the Province of *Utrecht*, and President of the States of the same Province; *William Van Haren*, Deputy of the Nobility of the States of *Frise*, and Rector of the University of *Franecker*; *Arnold Lemker*, Burgo-master of the City of *Deventer*, and *John Hekke*, Senator of the City of *Groningen*, all Deputies in the Assembly of the States General, in the Behalf of the States of *Gnelders*, *Holland* and *West-Frise*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Frise*, *Overysse*, *Groningen* and *Omeland*; who by Virtue of their Powers have agreed to the following Articles;

## I.

The Peace establish'd by the Treaty of *Reswick*, between his Most Christian Majesty, his Britannick Majesty, and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, their Heirs and Successors, their Kingdoms, States and Subjects shall be firm and constant; and their Majesties and the States General shall reciprocally contribute, to the utmost of their Power, to the Advantage and Benefit of each other.

## II.

As the principal End which his Most Christian Majesty, his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General, propose to themselves is to maintain the General Tranquillity of *Europe*; they cannot but be greatly grieved to see, that the Condition of the King of *Spain's* Health has continued for some time so languishing, that there is nothing more to fear than the Death of that Prince; tho' they cannot think of that Event without Affliction, by reason of the sincere and real Friendship they have for him. They have, in the mean time, thought it so much the more necessary to foresee that his Catholick Majesty not having any Children, the Vacancy of that Succession will infallibly raise a new War, if the Most Christian King pursues his Pretensions and the Claims of Monsieur the Dauphin and his Posterity to the whole Succession of *Spain*; and if the Emperor will also support his Pretensions, and those of the King of the *Romans*, and the Arch-duce *Charles* his Second Son, or of his other Children, Males or Females, to the said Inheritance.

## III.

And in regard the two Lords the Kings, and the Lords the States General, desire above all things the preservation of the publick Repose, and to avoid a new War in *Europe*, by an Accommodation of such Disputes and Differences as may arise by reason of the said Succession, or out of a Jealousie of those too many Dominions being united under one and the same Prince, they have thought fit to take Measures before-hand requisite to prevent the Misfortunes which the said Accident of that King's dying without Issue may produce.

## IV.

To this Purpose it is accorded and agreed, That if the said Accident should happen, the Most Christian King, as well in his own Name, as in the Name of Monsieur the Dauphin, his Children Male or Female, Heirs or Successors, born, or to be born,

as also my Lord the Dauphin, for himself, his Children Male or Female, Heirs or Successors, born or to be born, shall hold themselves satisfied, as they do by these Presents hold themselves satisfied, that Monsieur the Dauphin shall have for his Share in full Propriety, Possession, plenary Extinction of all his Pretensions to the Succession of *Spain*, to enjoy for him, his Heirs, Successors, Descendants Male and Female, born or to be born, to perpetuity, without ever being molested under any pretence whatsoever of Right or Pretension, even by Resignation, Appeal, Revolt, or any other way whatever on the part of the Emperor, the King of the *Romans*, the most Serene Arch-Duke *Charles* his Second Son, the Arch-Duchesses and his other Children, Male or Female, Descendants, Heirs and Successors, born, or to be born, the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, in the same manner as the *Spaniards* possess them at present. All Places depending upon the Monarchy of *Spain* upon the Coast of *Tuscany*, and Islands Adjacent, compris'd under the Names of *Sancto Stephano*, *Porto Hercole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto Longo*, *Piombino*, in the same manner as the *Spaniards* hold them at present; the City and Marquitate of *Final* as the *Spaniards* now enjoy 'em; the Province of *Guipuscoa*, namely, the City of *Fon-tarabie*, and *St. Sebastian*, seated in the said Province, and especially the Port du Passage, with what is comprehended therein, with the Restriction only, that if there be any Places depending upon the said Province, which are seated beyond the *Pyrenean*, and other Mountains of *Navarr*, *Alava* or *Biscay*, in the Province of *Guipuscoa*, they shall appertain to *France*, and the Passages of the said Mountains, and the said Mountains that are between the said Provinces of *Guipuscoa*, *Navarr*, *Alava* and *Biscay*, to which they shall appertain, shall be divided between *France* and *Spain*, so that there shall remain as much of the said Mountains and Passages to *France* on her side, as there shall remain to *Spain* on her side. The whole, with the Fortifications, Ammunition and Provision, Powder, Bullets, Cannon, Gallies and Chiorms which shall belong to the King of *Spain* at the time of his Decease without Issue, to be annex'd to the Kingdoms, Places,

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Isles and Provinces, which are to compose Monsieur the Dauphin's share. Nevertheless be it understood, That the Gallies, Chiorms and other Effects belonging to the King of *Spain*, throughout the Kingdom of *Spain* and other Dominions, which fall to the most Serene Arch-Duke's share, shall remain to him; those belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily* shall remain to Monsieur the Dauphin, as has already been agreed. Moreover, the Territories of Monsieur the Duke of *Lorraine*, that is to say, the Dutchies of *Lorraine* and *Barr*, as D. *Charles IV.* of that Name possess'd 'em, and such as were restored by the Treaty of *Reswick*, shall be relinquish'd and set over to Monsieur the Dauphin his Children, Heirs and Successors Male, born, or to be born, in full Propriety and plenary Possession instead of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which shall be relinquish'd and set over in Exchange to the said Duke of *Lorraine*, his Children Male, and Female Heirs, Descendants, Successors, born, or to be born, in full Propriety and plenary Possession, who will not refuse so advantageous a share; understanding withal, that the County of *Biche* shall belong to the Prince of *Vaudemont*, who shall re enter upon the Lands which he formerly enjoy'd, which have or ought to be surrendred to him, by Vertue of the Treaty of *Reswick*. In Consideration of which Kingdoms, Islands, Provinces and Places, the said Most Christian King, as well in his own Name as in the Name of Monsieur the Dauphin, his Children, Male or Female, Heirs or Successors, born, or to be born, who has also given for that effect his full Power to the Sieur Count *de Tallard*, and the Sieur Count *de Briord*, promises and engages to renounce upon the Vacancy of the said *Spanish* Succession, as in that case they now renounce by these Presents, all Rights and Pretensions to the said Crown of *Spain*, and all other Kingdoms, Islands, Dominions, and Places, which at this present depend upon it; excepting what is declar'd above to be their share. And of all this they shall cause to be drawn up solemn A&S, in the strongest and most authentick Form that may be, which shall be deliver'd at the time of the Exchange of the Ratification of this present

sent Treaty, to the King of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General.

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## V.

All the Cities, Places, Forts situated in the Kingdoms and Provinces which are to compose the Share of the said Monsieur the Dauphin, shall be preserv'd without being demolish'd.

## VI.

The said Crown of *Spain*, and the other Kingdoms, Islands, Dominions, Countries and Places which the Catholick King possesses at present, as well within as without *Euro e.* shall be given and relinquish'd to the most Serene Arch-Duke *Charles*, the Emperor's Second Son, except what was declar'd in the 4th Article, which composes Monsieur the Dauphin's share; and the Dutchy of *Milan*, in pursuance to the said 4th Article in full Propriety and plenary Possession, as his share, and in Extinction of all his Pretensions to the said Succession of *Spain*, to be enjoy'd by him and his Heirs and Successors born, or to be born, to perpetuity, never to be molested upon any pretence whatever of Right and Pretension, directly or indirectly, neither by Cession, Appeal, Revolt, or any other Way, on the part of the Most Christian King, my said Lord the Dauphin, or his Children, Male or Female, his Heirs or Successors, born, or to be born. In the Lieu of which Crown of *Spain*, and other Kingdoms and Dominions, Countries and Places which depend upon it, the Emperor, as well in his own Name, as in the Names of the King of the *Romans*, the most Serene Arch-Duke *Charles* his second Son, the Arch-Duchesses his Daughters, his Children, their Children, Male or Female, their Heirs, Descendants or Successors, born, or to be born, shall hold themselves satisfied, that the most Serene Arch-Duke shall have in, in Extinction of all other their Pretensions to the Crown of *Spain*, the Resignation made as above. The said Emperor, as well in his own Name as in the Names of the King of the *Romans* and the most Serene Arch-Duke *Charles* his second Son, the Arch-Duchesses his Daughters,

1700. Daughters, their Children, Male and Female, their Heirs and Successors; as also the King of the *Romans* in his own Name, shall at the time when they shall enter into the present Treaty and ratifie it, and the said Arch-Duke *Charles* when he comes of Age, renounce all Other Pretensions and Rights to the Kingdoms, Isles, Dominions, Countries and Places which compose the Share and Portion assign'd, as above, to Monsieur the Dauphin, and to him who shall have the Dutchy of *Milan* in exchange for what shall be given to Monsieur the Dauphin; and that of all these things there shall be speedily drawn up solemn Acts, in the best and most Authentick Manner, and Form, that may be; that is to say, the Emperor and King of the *Romans* at the time when they shall ratifie the present Treaty, and the Arch-Duke when he shall be of Age, which shall be deliver'd to his Britannick Majesty, and the Lords the States General.

## VII.

Immediately after the Exchange of the Ratification of this present Treaty, it shall be communicated to the Emperor, who shall be invited to enter into it; but if within three Months after, to reckon from the day of the said Communication and Invitation, or from the day that the said Catholick King shall happen to die; if it should fall out within the Term of Three Months, his Imperial Majesty and the King of the *Romans* refuse to enter into it, and to agree to the Share assign'd the Arch-Duke; the Two Lords the Kings, and the Lords the States General, shall then agree upon a Prince to whom the Share shall be given; and in case that notwithstanding the present Agreement, the said most Serene Arch-Duke will take possession of the Portion that shall fall to him, before he has accepted the present Treaty, or the Portion assign'd to Monsieur the Dauphin, or to him who shall have the Dutchy of *Milan* in Exchange, as is above-mention'd; the said Lords the Kings, and the Lords the States General, by Virtue of this Convention, shall hinder him with all their Forces.

## VIII.

## VIII.

The most Serene Arch-Duke shall not pass into *Spain*, nor into the Dutchy of *Milan*, during the Life of his Catholick Majesty but by common Consent, and no otherwise.

## IX.

If the most Serene Arch-Duke happen to die without Issue, whether before or after the Death of his Catholick Majesty, that Share, which is above assign'd to him by the Sixth Article of this Treaty, shall pass to such Child of the Emperor, Male or Female, except the King of the *Romans*, to whom his Imperial Majesty shall think fit to assign it; and in case his Imperial Majesty should happen to die before such Assignment, it may be made by the King of the *Romans*; but all upon this Condition, That the said Partition shall never be re-united, nor belong to the Person of him, who shall be Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, or who shall be both the one and the other, either by Succession, Will, Contract of Marriage, Donation, Exchange, Cession, Appeal, Revolt, or other way; and in like manner the Share of the most Serene Arch-Duke shall never be united nor belong to the Person of him who shall be King of *France*, or Dauphin, or both together, whether by Succession, Will, Contract of Marriage, Donation, Exchange, Cession, Appeal, Revolt, or any other way what-ever.

## X.

The King of *Spain* deceasing without Issue, in such Case the said Lords the Kings, and the States General oblige themselves to leave the whole Succession in the same Condition it shall then be, without seizures of the whole, or any part directly or indirectly; but every Prince shall immediately take possession of what is assigned to him for his Share, when he shall for his own part have given satisfaction upon the Fourth and Sixth Articles preceeding this; and if he finds therein any difficulty, the Two Lords the Kings, and the States General, to the End that every one may be possess of his Share, according to the Agreement; and

1700. and that it may have its full effect, engage themselves to give requisite Succour and Assistance of Men and Shipping by Land and Sea, by Force to constrain those that shall oppose themselves against the said Agreement.

## XI.

If the said Lords the Kings, or States General, shall be attack'd by any one whatever by Reason of this Agreement, or the execution of it, they shall mutually assist each other with all their Forces, and shall make themselves Guarantees of the punctual Execution of the said Treaty, and the Renunciation made in-pursuance thereof.

## XII.

All Kings, Princes and States, who will enter there-into, shall be admitted by this present Treaty, and it shall be lawful for the Two Lords the Kings, the States General, and for every one of them in particular, to request and invite whom they shall think fit to come into the present Treaty, and likewise to be Guarantees of the Execution of the said Treaty, and Renunciation therein contain'd.

## XIII.

And for the greater Security of the Repose of *Europe*, the said Kings, Princes and States, shall not only be invited to be Guarantees of the said Execution of this present Treaty, and of the Validity of the said Renunciations, as abovementioned; but if any one of those Princes, in whose Favour the said Partitions are made, shall go about to trouble the Methods settled by the said Treaty, to attempt new Enterprizes contrary to it, and so to aggrandize themselves to the prejudice of each other, under any Pretence whatever, it shall be deem'd to be the Duty of the said Guarantee, in that case to extend it self; so that the Kings, Princes and States who promise it, shall be bound to employ their Forces in Opposition to the said Enterprizes, and to maintain all things in the Conditions contain'd in the said Articles.

## XIV.

## XIV.

If any Prince, whoever he be, shall oppose the taking Possession of the Shares agreed to, the said Lords the Kings, and the States General shall be obliged to assist each other against the said Opposition, and to hinder it with all their Forces ; and there shall be an Agreement made presently after the Signing of this Treaty, touching the Proportion that every one is to contribute as well by Sea as Land.

## XV.

This present Treaty, and all other Acts done in pursuance of it, or which may have any Reference to it, and particularly the solemn Acts which his Most Christian Majesty, and Monsieur the Dauphin, are oblig'd to perform, by Virtue of the Fourth Article above written, shall be registred in the Parliament at *Paris*, according to the Form and Tenor, and according to the usual Custom, to be in force, according to the Conditions therein contain'd, so soon as the Emperor shall be entred into the present Treaty, or at the end of Three Months, which are allow'd for that Purpose, if he does not enter into it sooner. And in like Manner his Imperial Majesty shall be bound, when he shall enter into the present Treaty, to cause it to be approv'd and registred with all the Solemn Acts ; which his Imperial Majesty, the King of the *Romans*, and the most Serene Arch-Duke, shall be oblig'd to perform, by Virtue of the Sixth Article before recited, in his Council of State, or elsewhere, according to the most Authentick Forms of that Country.

## XVI.

The Ratifications of the Two Lords the Kings and the Lords the States General, shall be all Three exchange'd at the same time at *London*, within the Space of Three Weeks, reckoning from the day that the said States General shall have Sign'd, and sooner if it may be don<sup>e</sup>. Done and Sign'd, at *London*, March the 13th N. S. 1700, and at the *Hague* the 25th of the same Month, by us the Plenipotentiaries

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aries of *France* and *England*, and of the Lords the States General, it being agreed, that the Signature of this present Treaty shall be made in such manner. In Faith of which we have Sign'd this present Treaty, and set thereto the Seals of our Arms.

Sign'd,

Tallard      Portland,  
and Briord.      and Jersey.

Joan van Essan.  
F. B. Van Rede.  
A. Heinsius.  
W. de Nassau.  
Ev. de Weede.  
W. van Haren.  
A. Lemker.  
Van Hecke.

I had Orders from Court, privately to communicate the Treaty of Partition to the *Dutch Gazetteers*, so soon as it should be concluded and sign'd, in order to its being made publick, which was contrary to the Agreement made between the Ministers that Sign'd it, (*viz.*) That they would suffer the King of *Spain* to die in Peace, and not afflict that Prince in the last Days of his Life, by Dismembering his Estates. According to the Orders that I received I caused an Extract of the Treaty to be put into the Hands of the *Gazetteer* at the *Hague*, which was soon Copied out by all the News-writers of *Holland*, who are very numerous. The aim of our Ministers by this secret Negotiation, was to procure a Will from the Court of *Madrid* in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and the other Ministers of *Spain*, that were devoted to the Interest of *France*, begin now to play the parts they had agreed to do with the Marquess d' *Harcourt*. They represent to King *Charles II.* ' That it was a thing unheard of to divide ' the Estates of a Prince in his life time ; that it was ' an Enterprize that attack'd the Honour and Glory ' of his Majesty, and was a notorious Injustice to the ' whole Nation ; that *England* and *Holland*, who ' were concern'd in that Partition, had nothing in ' view

view but the Ruin of the Roman Catholick Religion,  
 by Dismembring a Monarchy that had always been  
 its Support ; That his Majesty might revenge him-  
 self for such an Attempt, they advis'd him to choose  
 an Heir that would preserve that Monarchy entire,  
 and would be, besides, Powerful enough to sup-  
 port its Glory, and oppose the Princes that would  
 divide it ; that the Duke of *Anjou* ought in such  
 case to be prefer'd to the Arch-Duke, since that  
 besides the Indisputable Right that call'd him to the  
 Crown of *Spain*, he would be able to make use of  
 all the Powers of the Crown of *France*, in case of  
 Necessity.

The King of *Spain*, who was then in a languish-  
 ing Condition, fell into the pernicious Sentiments of  
 his Ministers, and was inclin'd to espouse the Inter-  
 est of a Prince who was not descended from his  
 House, but from a House that had always been  
 his Irreconcilable Enemy. He sent Orders to the  
 Marquess *de Canales* his Ambassador in *England*, to  
 present a Memoir to that Court, which was full of  
 Resentment. The Memoir offended the King, the  
 Lords Lieutenants, the Parliament, and all the *Eng-  
 lish* Nation. The King of *England*, who was then  
 in *Holland*, having read it, was so provoked at it,  
 that he dispatch'd a Courier to *London*, with Or-  
 ders for the Ambassador's leaving the Kingdom with-  
 in Eighteen days at farthest, and writ at the same time  
 to his Minister at *Madrid*, to leave that Court. The  
 Marquess, in obedience to his Majesty's Commands,  
 embark'd on board a Yacht and came to *Calais*, and  
 from thence went to *Brussels*, to the Prince *de Sercles  
 de Tilly*, his Brother-in-law. The Treaty of Partition  
 made no less noise at the Court of *Vienna* than at *Ma-  
 drid*. The Ministers of *England* and *Holland* used  
 their utmost Endeavours to perswade the Emperour  
 that his House would draw great Advantages from  
 it ; and indeed his Imperial Majesty had less cause  
 of Complaint than the Most Christian King. The  
 Crown of *France* thereby acknowledged the Right  
 that the Emperour had to the Succession of *Spain*.  
 It consented to the Advancement of the Arch-Duke  
 his Second Son to the Throne of that Monarchy ;

1700. it receded for Ever from the Pretensions it had to *Spain*, the *Indies* and the *Low-Countries*. But the Glory of so many Kingdoms was truly but a Phantom, and had nothing of reality in it, which the Court of *France* dexterously made use of to dazle the Court of *Vienna* with, as we shall see hereafter. As on one side the Ministers of *England* and *Holland* endeavour'd to perswade the Emperor into a good Opinion of this Treaty; so on the other, the Ambassadors of *France*, at the Court of *Vienna*, acted underhand, by some of his Imperial Majesty's Ministers, who blow'd the Iron cold, as the others blow'd it hot; I would say, that these Ministers devoted to our Court, used all sorts of Artifices to divert the Emperor from signing the Treaty, that the Most Christian King might always make use of this Refusal to countenance his pushing on the Business of obtaining a Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, which he made his principal Concern, and at last effectually succeeded in. All *Europe* was surpriz'd at the Emperor's Stubbornness in always refusing to sign that Treaty; but those, who knew the Intrigues that the Court of *France* used to hinder it, are not at all surpris'd thereat.

'Tis apparent that the Most Christian King thought of nothing less than observing the Treaty of Partition; for even whilst the Negotiation was under hand, I had Orders from Court (being at the *Hague*) to carry on a private Negotiation with a Minister of a Northern Court, to engage a certain Prince in Alliance with *France*, to make a powerful Diversion in favour of that Crown, when the King of *Spain* should die. My Negotiation succeeded very fortunately, and as I had order to spare no Money to effect it; it has indeed cost the King several Millions; and the Presents that I made at the Peace of *Reswick* to the pretty Ambassadors, did not contribute a little thereto. As I was endeavouring to disturb the Empire on one side, so the Court sent on the other Monsieur *de V——x* into *Hungary*, to engage Prince *Ragotski* in the Interest of *France*; he succeeded as well as my self in that Enterprize, witness the Insurrection in *Hungary*, which has been the Fruits of it. The Court had

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had yet a Design to engage the *Turk* to make War against the Emperor; there were no endeavours wanting to effect it, and if it had succeeded, his Imperial Majesty would have been in a very miserable Condition; and the Elector of *Bavaria*, who was intirely devoted to *France*, would not have been the last, that should have carried his Torch to enflame the Empire. And on the other hand, what Pains was there not taken to engage the *Italian* Princes into our Interest. If we except the Republick of *Venice*, and the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, all the Courts of *Italy* were gain'd by our Ministers. If the Most Christian King had no other End in making the Treaty of Partition, than maintaining Peace as our Ambassadors every where insinuated, why did he make such great Preparations, and take such nice Precautions as could presage nothing but an approaching War. This Conduct sufficiently proved, as I have already said, that the Treaty of Partition was contriv'd only for a Stratagem to procure a Will in favour of the Infants of *France*.

The Affair relating to the Treaty of Partition being ended, I was recall'd to Court, and I gave a relation to our Ministers of what I had done for the King's Interest in this famous Negotiation. I found his Majesty and his Council busie in preparing the Project of a Will to be sent to *Spain*, whereby the Duke of *Anjou* was to be declar'd Heir of all that Monarchy. The Marquess de *Harcourt*, during his Embassy, had so dispos'd Affairs at *Madrid*, that he had gain'd the King of *Spain's* principal Ministers to his Party. The Marquess de *Torcy* had a long Conference with me, and told me, that the King was so well pleas'd with my Conduct, that he had cast his Eyes upon me to carry the said Project to *Spain*. This Proposal pleas'd me, because I was desirous to see *Spain*, and could not take that Journey with more Satisfaction than at the King's Expence, and upon a Subject of so great Importance, so that I very readily accepted of it. I went to Court the 28th of *July*, where I had Divers Conferences upon the Subject of the Will, with his Majesty, Madam *Maintenon*, M. de *Pontchartrain*, and M. *Chamillard*, who was, at last

1700. become one of my Friends. The King order'd me to go the next day to the Marquess de Torcy to receive my last Instructions. I went then to that Minister, and found Monsieur de Pomponne with him. The Marquess de Torcy told me, that he had Orders from the King to deliver me a Pacquet Seal'd up with the Privy Seal, which was the Project of the Will writ in *French*. He added, That when I arriv'd at *Madrid* I should deliver it into Cardinal Portocarrero's own Hands. Having left that Minister, I found at his Gate Two Post Horses which waited, one for me, and the other for the Postillion that was to accompany me, I took Horse that Moment for *Madrid*. As soon as I arriv'd there, in pursuance of the King's Orders, I went immediately to the Cardinal, and deliver'd him my Pacquet. His Eminency received me with abundance of Civility: He ask'd after the King's Welfare, Monsieur the Dauphin, and the Children of *France*; but more particularly enquir'd after M. the Duke of *Anjou*. I answer'd the Cardinal, that I left his Majesty and all the Princes in perfect Health. His particular Inquiry after the Duke of *Anjou* convinc'd me that the Council of *Spain* had design'd that Prince for Successor to the Crown, which was the Result of all the private Conferences which the Marquess d' Harcourt formerly had with the Cardinal. His Eminency having examin'd the Project, made some Alteration therein, with the Consent of the Duke de *Medina Sidonia*, Cardinal de *Borgia*, and the Duke de l' *Infantado*. These Alterations were in favour of the Arch-Duke, whom the Court of *France* had for ever excluded from the Crown of *Spain*. Cardinal Portocarrero and the other Ministers were not willing to declare themselves too openly Enemies to the House of *Austria*. After this Examination and the Amendments which those Ministers made, the Project was put into the Hands of Don Anthoine d' *Ubelles* Secretary of the General Dispatches, to be translated into *Spanish*, and fairly writ out, expecting the day that it should be presented to the King to sign it. Whilst these Ministers were busied in this Important Affair, I amus'd my self with Diversions. I had Orders from Court to stay at *Madrid* till the Will

Will was sign'd, and to bring back a Copy with the Alterations which the Ministers of *Spain* should make. I visited in the mean time the Royal Seats of *Aranjuez* and *Escorial*, and every thing that was curious in *Madrid*, and used often to walk upon the Banks of the River *Manzanores*.

As the Marquess *de Harcourt*, whilst he resided at *Madrid*, distinguish'd himself from the other Ambassadors by his Pompous and Magnificent Train, in order to gain the Affection of the People, and prepare them for the Domination of *France*, as well as to render himself Considerable at Court with the Ministers, and at *Madrid* with the Ladies of the first Quality; I advantageously made use of some Letters of Recommendation that the Marquess gave me at my Departure from *Paris* to introduce me into some Conversation where Love and Gallantry flourish'd. But the History that he gave me of a Tragical Adventure, which happen'd to a Young *French* Gentleman of his Retinue a few days before his Departure from *Madrid*, made me seriously reflect upon the Dangers which those Amusements expose Strangers to in *Spain*. I had already had some Experience of it in *Italy*, but found these practices had consequences more dangerous in *Spain*, where Jealousie is the favourite Idol.

This young *Frenchman*, whose Name was *Melodiere*, contracted an Amorous Correspondence with a *Spanish* Dame, Wife to one of the most considerable Traders of *Madrid*, from whom the Marquess *d' Harcourt* was furnish'd with his Equipage. This Circumstance contributed very much to tie the Knot between these Two Lovers. The Husband, Jealous even to Madness, or, to speak more proper, as Jealous as a *Spaniard*, dissembled for some time this Commerce of Gallantry, not willing to lose the Advantages that he was receiving from the Ambassador's House. But at last, not being longer able to bear an Intrigue which ruin'd his Reputation, he was resolv'd to shew his Resentment. In *France*, where these Sorts of Commerce are more common, a Husband would have been more Politick; he would have complied with the Times, and shut his Eyes against the Adventure, rather than come to fatal Extremities; but it is not so in *Spain*:

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A Letter from Cardinal Portocarrero to the Most Christian King.

SIR,

What has been done in respect to the Will, a Copy of which I herewith send to your Majesty, will sufficiently testify my Zeal and the Care that I have taken to raise Monseigneur the D. of *Anjou* upon our Throne. His Catholick Majesty has, by the choice that he has made in his last Disposition of an Heir of your Illustrious Blood, done justice to the eminent Qualities of a Prince who is worthy to reign and succeed him. I felicitate upon this Occasion your Majesty, Monseigneur the Dauphin, the three Infants of *France*, and particularly Monsieur the Duke of *Anjou*, our future King. If Divine Providence has resolved to call out of the World the good Prince that he has plac'd over us, who has govern'd with so much Lenity, it is yet a great Consolation to all his Subjects to see the same Providence appoint them another Prince that will restore to *Spain* its ancient Glory. This Consideration, Sir, will contribute much to wipe away the Tears that we should shed upon his Tomb. I persuade my self, that your Majesty will approve of the Reasons, that have oblig'd our Council to make some Alterations in the Project of the Will which your Majesty sent us. I have deliver'd a Copy of the Original, which our King has Sign'd, to the Marquess de L—— (who brought the Scheme from your Majesty) to convey it to you. I am, Sir, with profound Respect,

Madrid the 2d of October, 1700. Your Majesty's

Most humble Servant, Sec. Portocarrero.

I returned to *Versailles* the 18th of October, and immediately executed the Cardinal's Commands. The King broke open the Pacquet wherein the Copy of the Will was, and gave it to Monsieur Chamillard, who stood by him; after which, his Majesty read the Cardinal's Letter with a smiling Countenance, and

and ask'd me particularly about the King of *Spain's* Indisposition, and in what state I left him: I told him, That his Physicians despair'd of doing him any further Service, and that 'twas probable that the next Courier would bring the News of his Death. His Majesty signified to me, that he was very well satisfied with my Conduct, and the Diligence that I had used, and that he would not be unmindful of my Fortune. I answer'd him, That I had lost much in the Death of the *Marquês de Louvois* and the Duke of *Luxembourg*, but that nevertheless I should think my self always sufficiently recompens'd when I had the good fortune to please so great a Monarch. When I departed from the King I went to wait upon the *Marchioness de Maintenon*, who received me very favourably, & order'd me to salute Monseigneur the Dauphin, and the Three Princes, who desired to see me. I made these Visits with all the Pleasure and Satisfaction imaginable: In complementing Monseigneur the Duke of *Anjou*, I told him, that Cardinal *Portocarrero* enquir'd particularly after his Person, and his Health. I observ'd that these Words were very grateful to that Prince, and to give me his marks of the Pleasure that I had done him, he drew a Ring from his Finger, and said, I make you this small Present in quality of the Duke of *Anjou*, when I am King I will make you a great Lord. This Generosity and the gallant Air with which he gave it wonderfully pleas'd me; and to thank him for it, I told him, that never any Prince so much deserv'd to wear the Crown: I paid my Visits to all the Chief Ministers of the Court, who were overjoy'd at the happy success of this Negotiation. All these Gentlemen gave me assurances of their Protection, and I never conceived such promising hopes of a great Fortune as at this time; but this is the common incence of the Court, and Services which are done there are soon forgot, of which I made experience in the Consequence, and am not the only Person that has been disappointed in these Expectations.

A few Days after my Return several Couriers arriv'd from *Madrid*, who confirm'd, that the King of *Spain* was at the last Extremity, as I had already told the

1700. King. Then his Majesty seeing that the famous Scene of the Will, which was to perfect his Designs, was almost ready to be open'd, he instantly assembles a full Council. 'Twas resolv'd, that the Marquess d' Harcourt should immediately draw together a powerful Army upon the Frontiers of *Spain*, threatening as if he would enter *Catalonia*, by which means his Majesty propos'd on one side to affright the *Spanish* Nation, and oblige them to receive a Prince of *France* for their King; and on the other side to keep in awe the Powers of *Europe* that had Sign'd the Treaty of Partition, and were jealous of his Grandure, in letting them see that he had Armies ready to support his Projects, in case they were willing to oppose him. At last another Express leaves *Madrid* the 1st of November, and arrives at *Versailles* the 9th, he was dispatch'd by Monsieur de Blecourt, and brought the News of the Death the day that he left *Madrid*.

This great News did not affect the Court with Tears of Affliction, but with a Countenance of Joy: The King, Monseigneur the Dauphin, the Three Infants of *France*, and the Chief Ministers, who were concern'd in the Treaty, were all deck'd with a smiling Air. His Majesty and his Ministers, that they might have time to deliberate upon this Affair, did not think it proper presently to publish this Important News: The next day the Marquess de Castel dos Rios, Ambassador of *Spain*, deliver'd the King a Letter, which the Queen of *Spain*, Cardinal Portocarrero, and the other Ministers, who had taken upon them the Government of that Monarchy, during the *Interregnum*, had writ, desiring his Majesty to grant that the Duke of *Anjou* might be their King, according to the tenor of the Will which King *Charles II.* had left them, of which they had sent his Majesty a Copy. By that Will the deceased King nominated the Duke of *Anjou*, second Son of Monseigneur the Dauphin to be his Successor to the Crown; and in case of his decease, the Duke of *Berry* his third Son; and after him, if he should die without Issue, the Arch-Duke *Charles*, the Emperor's second Son. As this famous Will has made a great noise in the World, and has so much relation to my Subject, I cannot pass it by in silence,

silence, but since it has been publish'd at its full length, I shall content my self to give here only an Abstract of it. 1700.

Abstract of his Catholick Majesty King *Charles II's* Will.

## I.

**H**IS Majesty invokes the Name of God to obtain Grace, that he may die in the same Faith that he has liv'd.

## II.

He begs the Intercession of the blessed Virgin, and desires the Kings his Successors to continue the Instances that he has made at the Court of *Rome* to obtain a decision from the Pope in favour of her immaculate Conception.

## III.

His Majesty Orders, That his Body be buried at the Monastery of *St. Lawrence the Royal*, in the Tomb of his Ancestors, but with the least Pomp that his Royal Dignity will permit.

## IV.

The Foundations that the King settled in his Life time in favour of that Monastery, are order'd to be maintain'd.

## V.

He desires that the Kings his Successors should take particular care to preserve that Royal Monastery in all the Splendor and Magnificence that it was founded in by King *Philip II.* his Great Grandfather.

## VI.

That a Hundred Thousand Masses should be said for the Salvation of his Majesty's Soul, and in case he does not stand in need of so many, the Remainder to be said for the Souls of his Predecessors, and in case they don't stand in need of them, then for the Souls in Purgatory that are least taken care of.

## VII.

That King *Philip IV.* having formerly founded a Yearly Revenue of 6000 Ducats for the Redemption of Slaves, Marrying of Orphan Maids, and release of Prisoners, his Majesty orders that Foundation to be punctually executed.

## VIII.

His Majesty recommends to his Successors obedience to the Holy Apostolick See, to live in the Fear of God, and the Observation of his Commandments, to endeavour, above all things, to procure the advancement of the Faith, to Honour the Clergy, to Love his People, to Administer Justice impartially to all Men, to inspect the Conduct of their Ministers, and to be perswaded, that in doing all these things they shall obtain the Blessing of God.

## IX.

That the Kings his Successors ought to sacrifice their All for the Defence and Advancement of the Roman Catholick Religion, and that if any amongst them should be infected with Heresies, his Majesty declares 'em incapable of Reigning, and deprives 'em of all Right to the Crown.

## X.

That the Kings his Successors to the Crown of *Spain*, should in their Government prefer Motives of Religion before Maxims of Policy, and by that means obtain the Blessing of God.

## XI.

That the Administration of the Holy Sacrament, which had been particularly establish'd and founded in the Chappel of the Palace, should be observed for the future as it is at present.

## XII.

The King declares, That if God, by his infinite Mercy, gives him lawful Issue, the Eldest of the Males shall succeed him, and in default of Males then Females, according to the Laws of these Kingdoms; but since God has not yet granted him that Favour, his chief Obligation being to regard the Good of his Subjects, and the Preservation of his Kingdoms in Union; that they may all observe that Loyalty which they owe to their natural Lord, as they have always been accustomed to do, he does not doubt but his People will regulate themselves to what is most Just, and conform to the Authority of his Will.

## XIII.

His Majesty declaring, that the Renunciation of the deceased Queen of *France* having been made to prevent

prevent the Union of the Two Crowns into one intire Monarchy, and that now the fundamental Reason ceasing, the Right of Succession, according to the Laws of that Kingdom, belonging to the next of Kin, which happens at present in the Person of the second Son of Monseigneur the Dauphin; his Majesty therefore calls him in that Quality to the Succession of all his Kingdoms and Estates, without any reserve or exception, to take possession thereof after his Death, taking at the same time Oath to maintain the Laws, Ordinances and Customs of the Kingdoms and Dominions of that Monarchy; and in case the Duke of *Anjou* dies, or comes to inherit the Crown of *France*, the Succession of that of *Spain* shall then descend to Monseigneur the Duke of *Berry* his Brother: And in case that Duke also die, or happen to succeed to the Crown of *France*, his Majesty calls to the Succession the Arch-Duke, second Son to the Emperor, and not the King of the *Romans*, the Eldest, for the same reason that the Duke of *Anjou* is call'd in preference to his Father, the Dauphin, or Elder Brother: And in case the Arch-Duke *Charles* happen to die, his Majesty calls the Duke of *Savoy* and his Children; recommending to his Subjects the execution of his Will, without any Partition, or Dismembring of the Monarchy: And as his Majesty passionately desires that Peace and Union may be preserved between the Emperor his Uncle, and the Most Christian King, he desires and exhorts them to strengthen that Union by the Marriage of the Duke of *Anjou* with one of the most Serene Arch Duchesses, that by this means *Europe* may enjoy that Peace of which it stands so much in need.

## XIV.

His Majesty enumerates and distinguishes the Dominions in which the Duke of *Anjou* is to succeed him, declaring, that the very moment that it shall please God to take him out of his Life, the Duke of *Anjou* shall be *ipso facto* King of all his Dominions, notwithstanding any kind of Renunciation; and Orders all his Subjects and Vassals of what Condition soever they be, to acknowledge him for such without any delay.

## XV.

1700.

## XV.

Since it is necessary to provide for the Government of the Estates of this Monarchy, conformable to its Constitutions and Customs, his Majesty Orders, That the Government shall be put into the Hands of a Junto till his Successor shall arrive in *Spain*, to take upon him the Government, and that this Junto shall be compos'd of the President of the Council of *Castile*, the Vice-Chancellor or President of the Council of *Aragon*, the Archbishop of *Toledo*, the Inquisitor-General, a Grandee and a Councillor whom his Majesty shall name in this Will, or in a Codicil, or Paper Sign'd with his own Hand. This Junto to be held in presence of the Queen, and in such Place as she shall appoint, whilst her Majesty is pleas'd to stay in *Spain*. That the Opinion which she sides with when the Votes are equal, shall carry the Subject in question. That all Matters in debate shall be determined by the Majority of Voices.

## XVI.

That if the King dying, his Successor be a Minor, or not arrived to the fourteenth Year of his Age, this Junto shall have the Administration of the Government, and the Care and Tutorage of their King, during his Minority.

## XVII.

That the Vice Chancellor of *Aragon*, whom his Majesty has nominated a Member of the Junto, and Tutor to his Successor, shall preside specially and particularly over the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, conformable to the Customs and Priviledges thereof; but if these Customs and Priviledges do not permit him who is the Chancellor or President to exercise that Post, the Eldest of the Two Councillors of the Robe, Natives of that Kingdom, shall perform his Office, and in case of his default, the next in Seniority.

## XVIII.

The said Regent of *Aragon*, who shall be Tutor, shall reside in this Court, there to take his Place in Council, and to assist in the Junto of the other Tutors; so that joining the particular Knowledge that he hath of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, with the univer-

sal

fal. Notions of the other Tutors, and conforming himself to the majority of Voices, the Affairs of that Kingdom may be Administred and Transacted according to what is most agreeable to the Service of God and his Successor.

XIX.

His Majesty gives to all his Ministers and Officers the Power, Authority, and Permission which is necessary for 'em to exercise their Offices, during the Minority of his Successor, upon Condition that they first take an Oath of their Fidelity to him.

XX.

The said Tutors shall Administer Affairs jointly, and not do any thing one without the other, and to that purpose shall every day meet in a Chamber of the Palace which the Queen shall assign. The Secretary of the Universal Dispatches shall attend to give an account of Affairs, and assist in the same manner as he has done during his Majesty's Life.

XXI.

All the Consults of the Councils shall be communicated to the Secretary of the Universal Dispatches, who shall carry 'em to the Junto for their Approbation, and afterwards draw up their Resolutions thereupon, in order to be sign'd by 'em.

XXII.


The Dispatches usually sign'd by the King's own Hand and Seal, shall be sign'd by the Queen in the same place that the King us'd to sign, and a little lower by four at least of the Junto; and in the Affairs of *Aragon* the Regent of that Kingdom shall always sign.

XXIII.

It shall be permitted to any Member of the Junto to propose whatsoever he sees convenient for the good of the Kingdom, and the plurality of Voices shall decide it.

XXIV.

In case the Voices are equal by reason that the Queen is not there, or by any other Accident, they shall call in the President of that Council, to whom the Matter belongs, which shall be treated of; or the Dean of the same Council, if there be no President,

1700.  fident, or in his absence the Eldest of that Council next the Dean.

## XXV.

That the time for the J unto to meet in shall be in the Morning; Directions for their assembling upon Extraordinary Occasions.

## XXVI.

His Majesty exhorts the Members of the J unto to maintain Union amongst em, which is very necessary for the Publick Good, and desires the Queen to animate them thereto by her Example.

## XXVII.

The presence of his Majesty's Successor being necessary for the Good of his Kingdoms, he conjures him to hasten his arrival with all possible diligence.

## XXVIII.

In case his Majesty's Successor be of Age at his arrival, the J unto shall immediately give him an account of their Administration, and the whole State of Affairs.

## XXIX.

If the Successor be a Minor, his Majesty wills and recommends it to the J unto, that they, according to his Age, give him an account of Affairs treated of in their Assemblies, thereby to inform him of the Methods of Government, and pay the respect that is due to him, by his Authority and Royal Dignity.

## XXX.

If the President or Gouverneur of *Castile*, the Vice-Chancellor or President of *Aragon*, the Archbishop of *Toledo*, or the Inquisitor-General happen to die immediately after his Majesty's Decease, or during the Minority of his Successor; the J unto by majority of Voices shall elect others to fill up those Places: And as for the Grandee and Counsellor of State, the J unto shall choose another Grandee or Counsellor of State in case those that his Majesty names should die, and he shall not himself provide others that shall succeed em.

## XXXI.

The J unto in their sitting shall take place according to the Order that they are here above set down in; but if any Member be a Cardinal he shall have the

the first Place, and as to the Grandee and Counsellor of State they shall indifferently take Place according to their coming in : In voting they shall observe the Manner and Order of the Junto, and not that of the Council of State.

## XXXII.

All the Tribunals throughout the Kingdom shall preserve their Authority, and manner of Judging and Administring Justice, after the decease of the King, as they did before.

## XXXIII.

His Majesty recommends to all the Tribunals and Officers of his Kingdom to Administer Justice to his People with Integrity ; and to the Kings his Successors to maintain the same Tribunals, without any Innovations ; but above all, to observe punctually and religiously the Customs and Priviledges of every Kingdom, Estate, and Town of the Monarchy, and not admit any Person into Posts of Government that is not a natural born Subject of that Country, without dispensing with any Person therein upon any pretence whatever.

## XXXIV.

His Majesty Orders, That his Successor, immediately after his Death, restore to the Queen all the Dowry that she brought, or which may otherwise belong to her, and pay her 400000 Ducats *per Annum* for her Table during her Life and Widowhood.

## XXXV.

His Majesty bequeaths and gives to the Queen all his Jewels, Goods and Moveables not belonging to the Crown, and commands all his Subjects to shew her upon all Occasions Marks of their Reverence and Affection : He earnestly intreats his Successor, that if the Queen, for her Satisfaction, or to live more in Repose, would retire into *Italy*, and take upon her the Government of any one of his Kingdoms there, that he would give consent thereto ; giving her Ministers to assist her that are best qualified, and have most Experience and Wisdom. But if the said Queen chooses rather to live in any City of *Spain*, that he would give her the Government of the same City, with all the Territories and Jurisdiccions that depend upon it.

## XXXVI.

## XXXVI.

If the King that shall succeed be a Minor, his Majesty wills and orders, that his Royal House be kept by the same Officers as it is at present, without making any Change: And if he be at full Age, he recommends the said Officers to him, and desires him to have a regard to their Services, and continue 'em in their Employments during Life.

## XXXVII.

That the Officers and Servants of his Majesty's House, and also those of the Queen his Spouse, and the late most Serene Queen his Mother, should be maintain'd in the Enjoyment of their Places, Honours and Profits during Life.

## XXXVIII.

The Guard du Corps having been appointed purposely to guard the Person of the King, and no other, his Majesty commands the said Guard immediately after his decease to depart from the Palace, but not to be disbanded, but kept in a Body for the Service of the King his Successor, in such manner as it shall please him to order 'em.

## XXXIX.

But the *Spanish* and *German* Guards shall continue their service at the Palace, as they have done hitherto, as well for the Honour of the Crown, as the Service of the Queen his Majesties most dear and beloved Wife.

## XL.

King *Philip* the 4th having tied and annex'd to the Crown the Flower de Luce of Gold, the *Lignum Crucis*, and several other Reliques which belong'd to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, which are now in the Reliquary of the Royal Chappel, his Majesty desires that they may be dispos'd of according to that King's Intent.

## XLI.

King *Philip* the Fourth having likewise annex'd to the Crown divers precious Goods which are in the Royal Palace of *Madrid*, his Majesty declares them again belonging to the Crown, and recommends the Payment of his Creditors.

## XLII.

XLII.

His Majesty annexes to the Crown, for ever, all the Houses and Palaces that he possesses, as well within as without *Madrid*, with the Moveables with which they are furnish'd and adorn'd, with Orders that none of 'em may be either embezzl'd or alienated from the Crown; and, for their better security, orders, That exact Inventories may be taken thereof.

XLIII.

King *Philip* the Fourth having left to his Majesty, and the Kings his Successors, a Holy Crucifix which is kept in his Majesty's Gardrobe, his Majesty leaves it likewise to the King his Successor, and those that shall come after him.

XLIV.

His Majesty having always a particular pleasure in doing Justice to all his Subjects, and Vassals, and doing wrong to no Man, he persists in the same Intention; and orders, that to that End all his Debts be entirely paid, and satisfaction be made to all Persons that have any Demands upon him.

XLV.

His Majesty recommends to the King his Successor to avoid all superfluous Expences, to ease his People and discharge them from Tributes and Impositions which have been impos'd upon 'em, so soon as the present Necessities will permit.

XLVI.

He recommends to the Kings his Successors to Preserve, Cherish, Love, and Honour all his Kingdoms and Dominions, especially the Kingdom of *Castile*; as also to Recompense and Honour their Subjects and Vassals, according to their Merit.

XLVII.

And because the true and proper Office of a Prince is to do Justice equally to all People, to be the Father of his Subjects and Vassals, to support the Widows and Orphans, the Poor and Miserable, his Majesty particularly recommends these things to the King his Successor.

XLVIII.

His Majesty more particularly recommends to his  
H Successors

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Successors to favour and protect all their Foreign Vassals, and to confide in 'em, as in the *Castilians* themselves, as being the only means to preserve their Affection, where the Royal presence is wanting.

## XLIX.

As his Majesty has been constrain'd to exact from his Subjects and Vassals divers extraordinary Impositions, and that he has not been able to take 'em all away, he expressly recommends two things to his Successor; one to take away as soon as possible the said Impositions; and the other not to waste and consume in Rewards and voluntary Pensions so much as one single Real of these Tributes, since it is the Blood of the People; and they ought only to have recourse thereto in the last Extremity.

## L.

His Majesty Orders and Appoints, that, conformable to the Laws of that Monarchy, neither the King his Successor, nor those that shall come after him, shall ever alienate any part of his Kingdoms and Dominions, nor divide or separate them upon any account whatever, even not among their own Children: But on the contrary, that all the Kingdoms which are at present belonging to the Crown, or those which may hereafter belong to it, may remain united in a manner never to be separated; his Majesty confirming to that End the Law that King *John* the Second made in the States that were held at *Valledolid* in 1442, afterwards approved and confirmed by King *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* his Spouse, Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and the Kings *Philip* the Second, *Philip* the Third, and *Philip* the Fourth.

## LI.

His Majesty confirms certain Tributes establish'd by the Kings his Predecessors upon the Grandees, and Nobles of the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Spain*.

## LII.

And because the great Occupations of Peace and War in which his Majesty has been engag'd, has oblig'd him to use Toleration and Dissimulation; he declares the said Toleration and Dissimulation incapable

capable of giving any Prescription, Alteration or Prejudice to the Rights of the Crown ; and annuls makes void, and destroys every thing that has been heretofore done, tolerated or dissimulated contrary to the said Rights.

## LIII.

His Majesty having always had a just Care, that his Subjects dwelling near his Woods and Forests, and sustaining thereby damage by his frequent Hunting, should have due Satisfaction ; orders, That all those that have any Pretences upon that particular may have Satisfaction for their Damages immediately.

## LIV.

His Majesty orders the Buildings and Embellishments that he hath begun upon divers Royal Palaces to be continued, and that Payment be punctually made for every thing that is or shall be done.

## LV.

His Majesty wills and recommends to the Executors of his Will, That they pay his Debts with all possible dispatch for the discharge of his Conscience.

## LVI.

As there are divers Clauses several times repeated in the Wills of his Majesty's Predecessors, which have not yet been executed, but it is just that they should be when Opportunities will permit, his Majesty confirms them all, and earnestly recommends them to his Successors.

## LVII.

His Majesty bequeaths and leaves to the King his Successor all his Goods whatever belonging to him, Satisfaction and Payment being first made of all his Debts and Obligations.

## LVIII.

To execute this present Will, his Majesty names, first, the Queen his dear and beloved Wife, and those that at his Decease shall execute the Office of Butler of the Body, or if there be none such, the Eldest Gentleman of the Chamber till there be one ; the Grand Steward of his Household, and if there be none such, the Eldest Major Dome till there be one ; his Confessor, or he that shall succeed him in that Function ; his Master of the Horse, or he that officiates in

1700. that Place ; the President of the Council of *Castile*, or, if none such, the Eldest Councillor therein, till there be one ; the Inquisitor-General, or, for want of such, the Eldest Inquisitor, till there be one ; the Vice-Chancellor of *Aragon*, or if there is none, the Eldest Councillor till there be one ; the President of the *Indies*, and in his vacancy the Eldest of that Council ; and the Prior of the Royal Convent of St. *Lawrence*.

## LIX.

His Majesty orders, that this present Will be held for good and valuable, have the force of Law, and as such be executed in all Points. Sign'd at *Madrid* the 2d. of *October*, 1700.

*To el Rey.  
I the King.*

## An Extract of the Codicil.

## I.

HIS Majesty confirms in favour of the Queen the Contents of the XXXV. Article of the Will, and for her greater Satisfaction, orders, that if she prefers the Government of the *Low Countries* to that of the Kingdoms in *Italy*, and is desirous of residing there, he desires his Successor to dispose of it in her favour.

## II.

That the Structure begun by the King in the Royal Chappel of *Madrid*, for the greater Honour and more Sacred Worship of the Holy Sacrament, be continued upon the same Plan and Design, till 'tis perfected, at the sole Charge of his Successor.

## III.

His Majesty wills that the Royal Convent of the Barefoot *Franciscans* of the Incarnation, of the *Augustine* Recollects, of the Nuns of Saint *Teresa*, and St. *Anna*, as also that of the Barefoot *Carmelites*, may have each an Altar adorn'd with such Moveables as the Queen shall choose, to whom the Execution of this Article is recommended.

## IV.

His Majesty also orders, that the Convent of the Barefoot

Barefoot *Carmelite* Nuns, under the Title of St. *Joseph d' Avilla*, be incorporated into the Royal Patronage. 1700.

V.

His Majesty likewise orders and commands, that in paying all his Debts, they likewise pay all the Queen's Debts that shall be contracted to the Day of his Decease.

VI.

His Majesty having all his Life time desired to put his Kingdoms under the Protection of the Glorious St. *Teresa de Jesus*, to whom he had a particular Devotion, he exhorts his Successor to accomplish that good desire.

VII.

His Majesty wills, that the present Codicil have as much Force and Validity as if it was inserted Word by Word in the Will.

Madrid the 5th of  
October, 1700.

To el Rey,

Extract of the Paper mentioned in the 15th Article of the Will.

THE King names the Count *de Frigiliana* for Councillor of State, and the Count *de Benevento*, Butler of his Body, for Grandee of Spain, to be Members of the Junta for the Administration of the Government.

Several Letters from the Regency of Spain to his Most Christian Majesty upon this Subject are hereafter inserted.

A Letter from the Junta of Spain to the Most Christian King.

S I R,

THIS Day about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Almighty call'd out of this World (no doubt to partake of his Glory) the Soul of the King our Lord, Don *Carlos* the Second. His Will which

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which was closed up, was open'd immediately after his Decease, with the Solemnities which the Law requires; and finding in the Clause which concerns the Heir and Successor of all his Kingdoms and Dominions, without exception of any part of them, that he calls the most Serene Lord the Duke of *Anjou*, Son of the most Serene Dauphin; with Orders that the actual Possession of 'em be given to his Majesty without delay, so soon as he shall have taken his Oath to observe the Laws, Customs, and Ordinances of each Kingdom and Lordship, as is more amply express'd in the Two Copies annex'd. And the same King our Lord (whom God absolve) having left a Junto to govern the Monarchy in the interim till his Successor shall be able to govern it himself; the Queen our Lady, whom he has appointed to be one of 'em, if she pleases to accept of it, and the Ministers, whose Names are under-written, acquit themselves of the Obligation to give your Majesty this first notice of it, which shall be followed by all other diligent and necessary Informations that may be requisite at this Conjunction. This is all we have at present to advise your Majesty of. God preserve your Most Christian Majesty; as it is needful.

*I the Queen.**D. Card. Portocarrero.**D. Manuel Arias.**The Bp. Inquisitor-General.**D. Conde de Frigiliana.**El Conde de Benevento.*

The second Letter from the Junto to the Most Christian King.

S I R,

IN a Letter sent by an Express to your Majesty the first of this Month, we gave you advice that the Almighty had taken to himself the Soul of King *Charles* our Lord and Master; and we sent with that Letter the Copy of a Clause contain'd in his Will, whereby he names for his Successor to all his Kingdoms

‘ Kingdoms the most Serene Duke of *Anjou*, Son of  
‘ the most Serene Dauphin, with Circumstances that  
‘ are contain’d therein ; as also the Copy of another  
‘ Clause, where his Majesty, whom God absolve, e-  
‘ stablishes a Junto of Ministers, (which is already  
‘ form’d) for the general Government of the Monar-  
‘ chy, until his Successor can govern it himself : But  
‘ as by the melancholy Event of that day, it was im-  
‘ possible to express more chearfully the Sentiments  
‘ of our Hearts to your Majesty ; we take the present  
‘ Occasion to assure you, that altho we regret with  
‘ a just Affliction the Loss that we have received in  
‘ our Master ; the Prince that he has given us by his  
‘ Will, revives us and raises our hopes to such a de-  
‘ gree, that we and all his People desire with impa-  
‘ tience the happiness of living under his Government.  
‘ We can assuredly declare, that this was heretofore  
‘ the unanimous Desire of this Nation, seeing King  
‘ *Charles* had not any lawful Children ; but besides,  
‘ the Prince that he has chosen is supported and in-  
‘ titled thereto by Blood, Right, and the present ge-  
‘ neral Inclination of the People. We therefore beg  
‘ your Majesty, that the worthy Successor of this Mo-  
‘ narchy may without delay begin to dispose of his  
‘ Dominions, that we may soon have the Consolation  
‘ of enjoying the sweetness of his Government. And  
‘ to this end we, from henceforth tender him, as a  
‘ thing that properly belongs to him, our Endeavours  
‘ and Services to the utmost of our Power to facilitate  
‘ the means of his Possession of these Kingdoms in  
‘ Peace and Felicity. In the mean time we do and  
‘ shall remain in such a sincere and constant Obedi-  
‘ ence, Diligence and Application, as he shall approve  
‘ of in all Accidents, great or small. Nothing affects  
‘ us so much as the ardent Desire we have upon all  
‘ Occasions to testify our Fidelity and Affection. God  
‘ preserve your Most Christian Majesty’s Person ; as  
‘ it is needful.

*Madrid the 3d of  
November, 1700.*

1700.

~ The third Letter from the Junto of *Spain* to the Most Christian King.

S I R,

WE do by this Express send your Majesty a Copy of the Will and Codicil, which the deceased K. our Master, whom God absolve, has left behind him, that you may perfectly know all the Circumstances that are therein contain'd. We make use of this Occasion, (as we have done of all others) to acquaint your Majesty, that the Nobility and Commocality desire their new King with inconceivable Uneasiness and Impatience. So far are they from inclining to hearken or consent to any Novelty or Change in this great Affair, that they are all resolv'd to support and maintain it, being sufficiently satisfi'd with the reason and justice of the Cause. We represent this to your Majesty, to induce you more readily to grant our Petitions and repeated Instances, in giving us a Prince who is much desired and expected with Acclamations which every day increase amongst us ; we have every moment Advice of the great Encômiums that our Nation makes on the Will of the deceased King, accompanied with their Praises of the Prince, whom God has given us, and the Vows that they zealously make to see him in Possession of the Government. To these lively and tender Expressions we our selves ratifie all the sincere Offers that these Kingdoms in general or in particular make, of all that they are able to do for the Service of their expected King. We likewise congratulate your Majesty upon this Occasion of having your second Grandson nam'd and proclaim'd King of *Spain*, with Circumstances so singular as this present Conjunction is attended with. God preserve your Most Christian Majesty's Person ; as it is needful.

Madrid the 7th of  
Novemb. 1700.

After the reading of these Letters a Council was assembled at *Versailles*, the King, the Marchioness de *Maintenon*,

*Maintenon*, Monseigneur the Dauphin, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Chancellor, Monsieur *Chamillard*, the Duke *de Beauvillers*, the Marquess *de Torcy* and the other Ministers of State assisted at it. The Business under their Deliberation was the famous Question, Whether the King of *Spain's* Will, or the Treaty of Partition, ought to be accepted? The King, Madam *Maintenon*, Monseigneur the Dauphin and Monsieur the Chancellor declar'd for the Will, against the Opinion of all the rest of the Ministers, who represented to his Majesty the fatal Consequences that would in all probability attend the Violation of the Treaty of Partition, in abusing and tricking the Powers that had sign'd it. For my part, I doubt not but this contest either was not sincere, and only made for Form's sake; or otherwise, that the Ministers that oppos'd it, were not let into the Secret, when the Treaty of Partition was made: For it is certain, that the only Design of Count *Tallard* in this famous Treaty was to delude all the Powers of *Europe*, and at the same time to cover thereby their Intrigues at *Madrid*, in procuring a Will to be made in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*. If Greatness of Soul is found more amongst Princes than amongst other Men, Monseigneur the Dauphin gloriously distinguish'd himself upon this Occasion. The acceptance of the Will being resolv'd upon, that Prince said generously, *That tho' the Right of Succession to the Crown of Spain did lawfully belong to him, he would gladly renounce it; and it would be a sufficient satisfaction to him to say all his Life time,* The King my Father, the King my Son. Such Dispositions of Mind are truly Commendable and Glorious when they have Justice and Integrity to support 'em. But as Monseigneur the Dauphin had declar'd himself against a Treaty sign'd by the King his Father, with the greatest part of the Powers interested in the Monarchy of *Spain*; he could not likewise espouse these Sentiments, without being at the same time chagrin'd to see that all the Glory of the King would vanish as a deceitful Phantom by thus imposing upon all *Europe*, which was a Spectator of the Treaty of Partition. But as it is dangerous to dive too far into the Secrets of Princes, we will wave these Reflections,

1700. ons, and come to the Answer that the King made to the Regency of *Spain*, after he had accepted the Will.

The Most Christian King's Answer to the Junto  
of *Spain*.

‘ M O S T High, most Mighty, and most Excel-  
‘ lent Princes, our much beloved good Sister  
‘ and Cousin, most dear and well-beloved Cousins and  
‘ chief Counsellors, establish’d for the universal Go-  
‘ vernment of the States depending on the Crown of  
‘ *Spain*; We have received the Letter sign’d by your  
‘ Majesty and your selves, written the 1st of this  
‘ Month, deliver’d to us by the Marquess *de Castel dos*  
‘ *Rios*, Ambassador of the most High and Mighty and  
‘ most Excellent Prince, our most dear and most be-  
‘ loved good Brother and Cousin, *Charles II.* King of  
‘ *Spain*, of Glorious Memory; and the same Amba-  
‘ sador remitted to us at the same time the Copy of  
‘ the Will made by the deceased King his Master,  
‘ containing the Order and Rank of the Heirs which  
‘ he calls to the Succession of his Kingdoms and  
‘ States, and the prudent Provision he has made for  
‘ the Administration of the Government of his King-  
‘ doms, till the Arrival, and during the Minority of  
‘ his Successor. The sensible Grief which we feel for  
‘ the loss of a Prince whose excellent Qualities and  
‘ strict Ties of Blood rendred him most dear to us, is  
‘ infinitely increased by the Proofs which he gave us  
‘ at his Death of his Justice and Love for his faithful  
‘ Subjects, and the Desire he shew’d to maintain, af-  
‘ ter his Death, the general Quiet of all *Europe*, and  
‘ the Happiness of his Kingdoms. We will, on our  
‘ part, contribute to the one and the other, answering  
‘ the entire Confidence he has always repos’d in us,  
‘ conforming our selves intirely to his Intentions ex-  
‘ press’d in the Articles of the Will, which your Maje-  
‘ sty and Y O U have sent us. And our Care hence-  
‘ forth will be to raise, by an inviolable and most strict  
‘ Correspondence, the *Spanish* Monarchy to the high-  
‘ est pitch of Grandure it ever arrived at. We accept  
‘ in favour of our Grandson the Duke of *Anjou*, the  
‘ Will

Will of the deceased Catholick King; our only Son the Dauphin accepts it also, quitting, without any Reluctancy, the just Rights of the deceased Queen his Mother, and our dear Spouse, as well as those of the deceased Queen our most honoured Lady and Mother, indisputably acknowledg'd by the Opinion of the several Ministers of State and Justice, consulted by the deceased King of *Spain*: Far from reserving to himself any part of the Monarchy, he sacrificeth his own Interest to the desire of re-establishing the ancient Lustre of a Crown, which the Will of the deceased Catholick King, and the Voice of his People, have unanimously given to our Grandson. We will cause the Duke of *Anjou* immediately to depart, that he may the sooner give his Subjects the satisfaction of receiving a King, who are so well perswaded that God has call'd him to the Throne. His first Duty ought to be to cause Vertue, Justice and Religion to reign with him, and wholly to apply himself to the Happiness of his People, to raise and maintain the Grandure of so mighty a Monarchy, to choose always and reward those that he shall find in a Nation so Stout and so Wise, capable of serving him in his Councils, in his Armies, and the different Employments of Church and State. We will instruct him further in what he owes to his Subjects, so inviolably devoted to their King, and what to his own proper Glory. We shall exhort him to remember his Birth, to preserve the Love of his Country; but above all, to maintain for ever that Peace and perfect good Understanding, so necessary to the common Happiness of our Subjects and his own, which has always been the principal Object of our Wilhes; and if the Misfortune of past Conjunctions have hindred us from making it appear, we are perswaded that this great Event will alter the state of Things in such sort, that each day will produce hereafter new Occasions to shew our great Esteem and particular good Will to the whole *Spanish* Nation. In the mean time most High, most Mighty, and most Excellent Princes, our dear and entirely beloved good Sister and Cousin; we pray God, the Author of all Consolation, to give  
your

1700. your Majesty, needful Comfort in your just Affliction; and we assure you most dear and well-beloved Cousins and prime Councillors appointed for the Regency of *Spain*, of the particular Regard and Affection we have for you.

*Fountainbleau, Nov.  
12. 1700.*

Sign'd,

*Louis,*

and lower

*Colbert,*

The fourth Letter from the Junto to the Most Christian King.

S I R,

UPON the advice that we have given your Majesty of the Affliction we labour under by the Death of our most dear King and Master Don *Carlos* of Glorious Memory, and of the prudent and indisputable Disposition that he made in his Will, in calling to the entire and universal Succession of all his Dominions the new King Don *Philip V.* our Lord and Master, heretofore Duke of *Anjou*, ever happy Grandson of your Majesty, and his giving in the interim a form of Government; your Majesty has been pleased to vouchsafe (and we gratefully acknowledge it) to testify to us by your Letter of the 12th Courant, your sensible Grief, at the loss of so great a Prince; and declare to us that you would accept and approve of the Contents of the deceased King's Will, which confirms and authorizes with all the possible Forms and Precautions that can be the securing to your Majesty's House for ever the possession of so great an Inheritance: Therefore after having rendred our most hearty and most respectful Thanks to your Majesty for this Acceptation, and the singular marks of Esteem and Bounty, with which it has pleased your Majesty to honour us, *7/s* in particular, and all the *Spanish* Nation in general; proper Marks and Characters of the Heroick Mind of so great a Monarch. Your Majesty's obliging Letter, has enabled us who were in the midst of Trouble

ble and Consternation, to banish Grief, and to celebrate with universal Applause the Obligations that you have therein heap'd upon us. We believe, Sir, that the new King will come instructed as your Majesty has promis'd us, in all Eminent, Prudent and Christian Maxims; that he will without doubt be well educated under the Discipline of so Glorious, so Happy, and so excellent a Grandfather, and that under his auspicious Reign we shall see the Lawrels fresh and verdant upon his August Forehead; this new Obligation will make us for ever preserve in our Hearts and Memories Precepts so Wise and so Certain, Precepts that will contribute to every Man's particular Advancement, and the Advancement of the whole Monarchy; that will induce us always more and more to cultivate a strict Friendship, Union and Correspondence, between the Subjects of the Two Crowns. And now at last we felicitate our selves upon the beginning of this happy Age wherein Divine Providence has order'd that Royal Knot to be firmly tied, and made proof against the Misfortunes of Time, and the Jealousie of each others Courage or Power, which has been nourished between the two Nations, and has obstructed their mutual Love and Friendship. We and all our most worthy King's faithful Vassals, long with Impatience and Uneasiness for his Arrival, upon the Promise that your Majesty has made us, that we shall soon see him (a Favour for which we shall joyfully return your Majesty recent Thanks); we reckon every hour, and that we may hasten so desirable a Happiness, we have given Orders, that his Majesty should be proclaim'd with the usual Ceremonies, in the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and all its Dependencies: It has been already executed at this Court, to whose Example, we doubt not, according to the Advices we have received, but that all the Provinces which compose the Circle of this Crown, according to the Union that they have always conserv'd amongst them will conform themselves; and that by a noble Emulation they will make it a point of Honour, to celebrate joyfully this happy Event, and double their Prayers and

1700. ' and Vows for your Majesty's Health, Prosperity and  
 ' long Life, which we earnestly desire for the com-  
 ' mon Good of *Christendom*.

*Madrid* the 26th of  
*November, 1700.*

Now I am come to give a recital of what pass'd at Court upon the Ceremony of first acknowledging the new King. His Majesty making use of the advice, which the Ministers of *Spain* gave him, in desiring him to send the Duke of *Anjou* with all Expedition to fill up the vacant Throne, declar'd, that that Prince should be acknowledg'd universal Monarch of all *Spain*, according to King *Charles II's* Will; and to secure for ever that Crown to the Royal Family of *France*, in case of Death, to which all the Princes in the World are Subject, as well as other Men; his Majesty's Council thought it necessary for Monsieur the King's only Brother to make a Protest against the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, to whom the Crown was substituted, in case the Duke of *Berry* should become King of *France*, or die without Issue; that then Monsieur and his Children should succeed to the Crown of *Spain*. This Protestation was followed with a second, which Monsieur the Duke de *Chartres* made, as Presumptive Heir of Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans*; all these Precautions were taken to alienate for ever the House of *Austria* from that Succession. The King makes the Ceremony, which was, to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou* for King. The 16th of this Month *November* his Majesty gave a particular Audience to the Marquess de *Castel dos Rios*, Ambassador of *Spain*; the Duke of *Anjou* entring in the mean time into the Closet, the King said unto him, Sir, the King of *Spain* has made you King, the *Grandeess* demand you, the People wish for you, and I consent to it: You look upon your self only as a Prince of *France*; but I recommend to you to love your People, to merit their Affection by the mildness of your Government, and render your self worthy to reign upon the Throne of a Monarchy to which you are advanc'd. After this Pompous Discourse his Majesty plac'd him-  
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self upon the right side of the Duke of *Anjou*, and spake to the Marquess de *Castel dos Rios*, that he might salute him as his King. The Ambassador then put one Knee upon the Ground, and kiss'd the new King's Hand. This first Ceremony was followed with a publick Declaration, that the Most Christian King had order'd the Doors of his Closet to be open'd to all the Court, and that Monseigneur the Duke of *Anjou* was King of *Spain*. Then the Marquess de *Castel dos Rios* presented his eldest Son, and the *Spanish* Gentlemen of his Retinue, to kiss the King's Hand kneeling, as he had done. From this time to the Fourth of *December*, which was the day appointed for his Catholick Majesty's Departure, the whole time was spent in receiving and returning Visits. The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, his Brothers, visited him. Monf. the Dauphin being then at *Mendon*, the new King, his Son, went thither to visit him. Monf. and Madam, the Duke and Dutchess of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Chartres*, the Grand Dutchess of *Tuscany*, King *James*, and the Queen his Spouse, the Nuncio, and the Ambassadors of Sovereign Princes, who were then at *Paris*, came to salute his Catholick Majesty. The Parliament of *Paris*, the Chamber of Accounts, the Court of Aids, and the Gentlemen of the *French* Academy came to pay him Homage, and Harrangue him. I cannot forbear citing here the Address made him by this last Body, which is not only a piece of Eloquence, but shews us to what excess they push their Flatteries, to excite a Prince to follow the Steps of a Monarch that has governed *France* so many Years by Maxims which burthen and oppress the People.

An Address made to the King of *Spain*, in the Name of the *French* Academy, by Monsieur de la *Chapelle*, Receiver General of the Finances of *Rochel*, and Director of the above-nam'd Academy.

S I R,

IF silence might be permitted to any one, when the whole Earth speaks, and joyfully retorts the loud Acclamations of all its People, it would be to the *French* Academy that has now the Honour to appear before your Majesty.

Now

1700.

‘ Nourish’d in the Bosom of Learning and Eloquence, occupied in cultivating the Art of speaking well, and accustomed to extol, or at least adorn by Words every thing she treats of: she ought therefore to be silent when she knows not Words that can approach the Grandure of the Subject, nor is Mistress of Expressions that can discover her own Sentiments.

‘ It is the Property of those miraculous Events which excite, which move the most lively Passions, and fill us with a Spirit of Joy, a tumultuous and confus’d Admiration, to render Eloquence dumb: In reality. Sir, what Paintings can be presented to your Majesty so Glorious by the most Eloquent Discourse we can make you, but the naked Truth, and the simple report of our Eyes will darken and deface it?

‘ Your Majesty has scarce entred into the first years of your Youth, and yet the Fame of your Vertues has already penetrated the extreamest parts of the World; that exact Integrity, that love of Justice, that Heroick Humanity, that Moderation, that advanc’d Prudence, that Sincerity, that inviolable Fidelity which has gain’d the Admiration of every one about you, has made your Name ador’d in the most distant Countries.

‘ A hundred different Nations which compose one only and immense Empire; what said I? An entire World comes to the Feet of our August Monarch’s Throne; they come here (not as formerly, the famous Queen went into *Judea*, only to admire the Wisdom of that Prince) to demand and receive of him, in obtaining You for their King, a Ray of his Wisdom to govern them.

‘ Amidst an Appearance thus new and surprising, the King who is himself the greatest and most magnificent Object that God has plac’d upon the Universe, is rais’d above his proper Grandure; he scorns, he forgets his Interest, he bestows You upon these Nations earnestly imploring him; He proclaims you, he puts upon your Head more Crowns than you have Years, he instructs you, he gives you his Lessons and Precepts; he breaths into your Bosom, if I may

may adventure to say so, the Soul and the Spirit that has rendred this Monarchy so Flourishing and Happy.

What are his Maxims but Oracles of Wisdom? Oracles truly worthy to be consulted and follow'd by all Kings.

When he speaks, Respect and Admiration suspend all the Minds, penetrate all the Hearts, and affect with Tears the Eyes of them that hear him.

But our Discourse, but our Praises, altho' animated with all the Zeal of our Hearts, how cold and languishing do they appear upon this Subject so lofty, and so affecting?

Receive then, Sir, as an entire Testimony of our profound Respects, our good Wishes, our ardent and sincere Prayers to Heaven for you.

Reign, Sir, reign in all the four parts of the World, and may you cause to reign with you all those Virtues that dispence Felicity to Kings and to their People.

May Learning and the Muses, by whom Kings and even Virtues themselves owe their Immortality amongst Men, reign with you.

May you make the Age that you are going to commence in *Spain* so worthy of that Nation's remembrance, as the Hero whom we obey has rendred himself Glorious, and his People Happy.

May these two celebrated Nations, fear'd and admir'd by all other People in the World, fight against each other no more, have no other Disputes between 'em than what relates to the Love and Affection, the Zeal and Fidelity of their Masters.

These, Sir, are the Prayers that this Society will for ever make for you, more worthy perhaps of your Regard than any other Society, by the Honour that it has of having your Invincible Grandfather for its Protector.

The Duke of *Anjou* having been acknowledg'd King of *Spain* (being yet in *France*), by the Ceremony that the Most Christian King had caus'd to be perform'd, which I have already related; he put on the Habir of the Country, such as the Kings of that Monarchy wear, the 19th of the same Month; it

### *The Marquess De L——ry's*

was a black mourning Dress, with a long Cloak of the same colour, having a Train of an Ell and an half long, according to the Custom of *Spain*: His Catholick Majesty went then to Mass with the King into the Gallery of the Chappel, the Duke of *Anjou*, his Most Christian Majesty's Gentleman, carried his Train to the Guard-Hall, where the Count *de Prego*, Lieutenant of the Guards took it, and carried it to the Gallery.

Whilst the Court was busied with all these Ceremonies, I thought of nothing but diverting my self. As my Journey to *Spain* had made me Master of that Language, my Conversation was generally with the *Señor* & *Lords*, that came with the Ambassador. I contracted a particular Friendship with one of these Gentlemen, whose Name was *L. Señor Cajilleras*; he was a Person of Distinction, a little loose and extravagant, but of such an affectionate Temper that I could not but love him at our first Interview. I introduced him to several Ladies, and to several of our Meetings, which very much oblig'd him; he was surpris'd at the ease Access he had to the Ladies, and the little Formality with which they receiv'd him. I heard him a hundred times rail at the manner of making Love in *Spain*, and detest those Maxims which render, says he, Lovers and their Mistresses Slaves. He conceived at first, a very ill Opinion of the Freedom which the Ladies at the Court of *France* us'd, and said, there was no need of above two Visits to obtain their Favours: but he was by degrees so accusom'd to the Mode of the Country, as to spare the Criticism that he made upon their Gallantry. I took him with me one Day to Visit a Lady of my particular Acquaintance, it was no small pleasure to me, to see the Formality of his Address to the Lady, and the Confusion that she was in, by such strange Conversation. *Cajilleras* began, drawing near the Lady, with abundance of low and reverend Bows, which were followed with a Declaration of his Love certainly more facetious than any Scene of *Marlequin*. I thought I should have died with laughing, and I believe the Lady had a great deal of difficulty to forbear. His first Talk was upon the excellency of  
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the *Spanish* Tongue which exceeded all others in the World ; he said, that God spoke to *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* in *Spanish*, and at the same time ask'd the Lady if she could speak that Language ; She answer'd, No. *Castilleras* replied then, that he would talk to her in *French* : He continued his tale of Love, and said, the Women of every Country ought to prefer the Amours of *Spaniards* before all other Nations in the World, because they were descended from the noble Race of the *Goths*, because their King was Master of 63 Kingdoms ; that Mass was always celebrated in his Dominions ; that the Sun never depriv'd them of its Light ; that the King had a Right to command all strange Nations. After all this fine Preamble he came to the Affair of Love ; he compar'd his Mistress to the Queen of the *Amazons*, her Understanding to the Wisdom of *Solomon*, her fair Hair to the splendid Rays of the Sun, her Eyes to Stars sparkling in the Heavens, her Lips to the finest Coral, her fair Complexion to the Lilly, her pretty Teeth to the finest Pearl ; and in short, her Person was made an Abridgment of all the Wonders of the World : He concluded with a Protestation that exprest all possible tokens of the excess and extravagancy of his Love ; then kneeling, as when he saluted the new King, said, your Merits are such that I will live and die for you ; and drawing his Sword, said, this piece of Iron shall be witness. The Lady, not accusom'd to these extravagant Sallies, was afraid that *Castilleras* was going to kill himself in a Rage, she cast her self upon his Sword, and earnestly entreated him to put it again into its Scabbard. He replied, Madam, in obedience to you it shall be done, and then he arose : We took our leaves of the Lady, *Castilleras*, better pleas'd than a King at the Success of his first Visit, and my self no less satisfied with the diverting Scene he had given us. I have already said, That the King order'd the Marquess d' *Harcourt* to appear upon the Frontiers of *Spain* with a powerful Army, in order to strike a Terror into that Nation : But his Majesty perceiving by the Homages that the Ambassador and several Grandees of *Spain* had paid to the new King, that Affairs would take another turn ; he changes the

1700

Scene. and after having rais'd the Marquess d' Harcourt to the Dignity of Duke and Peer of *France*, he sent him to *Madrid* in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, to confer with Cardinal *Portocarrero* and the other Ministers of the Regency, about the Ceremonies of the new King's Reception. His Majesty could not make choice of a Minister more proper for that Embassy, nor more agreeable to the Grandees and People of *Spain*: And that he might support that Character with Distinction, he gave him such Sums of Money, and honour'd him with such Dignities as were never bestow'd upon any Ambassador before.

Having been to wait upon the new King and Complement him upon his elevation to the Throne of so great a Monarchy: His Catholick Majesty did me the honour to tell me, That he had desir'd the King to permit me to be one of those that should accompany him to *Madrid*; that as I understood the *Spanish* Tongue I should do him a pleasure in accepting of that Proposal. I told his Majesty, That I desir'd nothing more than to obey his Commands; he order'd me then to put my self in a readiness against the day of his departure. His Catholick Majesty casting his Eye upon the Map of *Spain*, which lay upon the Table, took a particular Observation of *Centa*, upon the *African* Coast, besieged several years by the *Moors*, and said, That the first Expedition that he would undertake after his arrival in *Spain*, should be to raise the famous Siege of that Town, and give the *Spaniards* Marks of the Bravery of a Prince descended from the House of *Bourbon*, and hop'd, that the new Lustre which he should give that Monarchy, would give the Nation cause not to repent of the Choice that it made of a Prince of *France*, preferable to a Prince of the House of *Austria*.

Before his Catholick Majesty's departure the Court thought fit to employ me in a private Negotiation whose Consequences were very advantageous to the King's Designs. I have before said, that when I was sent to the Court of *Brussels* in the year 1696, I left the Elector of *Bavaria* favourably inclin'd towards *France*. Monsieur de *Puissegur* being afterwards sent to his Electoral Highness, proceeded so successfully upon

upon the Plan that I began upon, that he dispos'd the Elector to engage himself in the Interest of *France*: He found no great Difficulties to obstruct him, except some Millions of Money that he was oblig'd to offer: He dexterously made use of the Dissatisfaction that the Elector had with the Conduct of the King of *England* and the States General, at the end of the last War: Besides this Subject of Complaint which he pretended was just; that Prince had an Envoy at the *Hague*, who earnestly endeavour'd to induce the States to lend his Master a considerable Sum of Money, which he had occasion for; they refus'd it, and answer'd at the same time, That his Electoral Highness ought to be satisfied with the Complaisance that the Town of *Amsterdam* had already shewn his Highness, in lending him Sums of Money upon the Electoral Crown and Jewels that were deposited in their Hands, above the value of them. The States, who wisely and politicly administer their Government, did him no Injustice: If they had been willing to satisfy a Prince that was swallow'd up in Debt, it would have cost them immense Sums, and all the excess of their Generosity would never have been capable of diverting him from embracing the Interest of *France*. He would have taken all their Money that they would give him, and his Ambition would have been never the more satisfied therewith; he would notwithstanding all that have play'd the same trick, as I am going now to show he did.

His Electoral Highness's Envoy seeing the States inflexible to that Overture, came at last to desire them that they would release the Electoral Crown and Jewels that were put into the Hands of the Gentlemen of *Amsterdam*; adding, that if they would do the Elector his Master that Pleasure, he would not fail gratefully to acknowledge it. But besides the loss that the States would have suffer'd in those considerable Sums that were lent upon this Pledge, they would have had the Regret of seeing their Kindnesses bestow'd upon a Prince that was even then in concert with the Most Christian King, contriving the Ruin of their Republick, which our following Relations will clearly discover.

1700.



The Count *de Monastier*, his Envoy at the Court of *France*, was one of the first Ministers that complimented the new King, on the part of his Electoral Highness, and deliver'd him a Letter at the same time express'd in most respectful Terms, containing in substance; ' That there was no Prince in *Europe* so overjoy'd at his Advancement to the Throne of a Monarchy, to which God, his Right, and the Consent of the People had call'd him: That his Zeal should appear in contributing to the utmost of his Power to the establishing his Nephew, who was so worthy to reign: That he did not doubt but Divine Providence would bless his Reign, and his Arms, against so many Princes that were joining together to dispute his Succession to the Crown: But that their Confederacy would no more prevail than all those that had been heretofore made, to stop the course of the Most Christian King's Conquests: That if that Monarch had always made War with Superiority, when he was not united with *Spain*, 'twas reasonable to believe, that the Union of those two Monarchies would form so irresistible a Power, that the Confederate Princes, jealous of his Prosperity, would repent their taking Umbrage at his Designs: That in short, he would send the Marquess *de Bedmar* to his Catholick Majesty to assure him more particularly of his Respects, and to concert Means with the Ministers of the Most Christian King, of securing all the Places in the *Low Countries* to his Obedience: That he had ordered the *Spanish* Infantry to enter *Namur*, and had sent the Cavalry to *Luxembourg*; That these two Fortresses being the principal of that Country, he believ'd the Precaution that he had taken would be agreeable to him: That he would expect his Majesty's more particular Orders, by which he should be proud to be regulated.

The Marquess *de Bedmar* was no sooner arriv'd at Court but the new King gave him Audience, and express'd to him the great Esteem he had for his Electoral Highness: The Marquess in his turn assur'd his Catholick Majesty in his Highness's Name, that he earnestly desired to unite himself for ever to the Interest of a Prince that was by Blood already so nearly related

related to him. As I knew the Marquess particularly well at the Court of *Brussels* he desir'd me to accompany him to that Audience, and did me the Honour to signify to our Ministers, that they would very much oblige him if they would permit him to negotiate his Affairs with me. The Marquess *de Torcy* told the King what the Marquess desired, and his Majesty shewing himself pleas'd with my Conduct in all those Affairs that had been committed to my Care, consented to it; adding, That I should treat with the Marquess upon a Project that Monsieur *Chamillard* should give me. The Affairs of *Spain* at that time so occupied our Ministers, that they were very willing to ease themselves of a strange Negotiation which respected a Prince, whose Circumstances I was very well acquainted with; besides the mutual Friendship that pass'd between the Marquess and my self, enabled me to prevail more upon the Marquess than any other Minister of the Court, to whom he was a stranger. The Marquess at our first Conference, communicated to me a Memoir, which was indeed a Plan of the Elector's present Circumstances; he said, ' He had orders to represent to their Most Christian ' and Catholick Majesties the Sacrifice that his Electoral Highness should make of all the Benefits that he ' and his Brother the Elector of *Cologne* had received ' from the King of *England*, and Monieurs the States ' General, by whose Recommendations to the Courts ' of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, he had obtain'd the Government of the *Low Countries*, and his Brother, the ' Electorate of *Cologne*; That besides these Motives ' which engag'd him never to depart from the Alliance ' of that Prince and Monieurs the States, his Highness had been earnestly solicited not to enter into the ' Interest of the two Crowns, by very advantageous ' Offers which the Envoy of *England* had made him; ' That these Offers did not only consist in securing to ' him the Government of the *Low Countries* for him ' and his Posterity for ever, but also in allowing him ' very considerable Subsidies; That their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties were not ignorant of ' the great Troubles that his Electoral Highness has had ' with the People of *Brabant*, who would have made

1799. a general Revolt. unless he had used those violent Means which he had done, contrary to his Inclination : That he had reason to believe that the animosity of that People would increase when they came to understand that his Electoral Highness had embraced the Cause of the two Crowns : That the fears which these People, might have that his Catholick Majesty, their new King, would treat them with less Mildness than their late King had done, might produce Consequences very prejudicial to his Electoral Highness ; That the Hazard to which he was going to expose himself, by embracing the Interest of the two Kings, requir'd that he should take into Consideration the Benefits that he might hope to be recompens'd with ; That having not been paid the Subsidies that the deceased King of *Spain*, of Glorious Memory, ow'd him for the subsistence of his Troops ; and the People of *Brabant* having refused him the Sums that they had heretofore paid to other Governors his Predecessors, occasion'd by the Divisions that always reigned between that People and his Electoral Highness ; he had been oblig'd to defray out of his own Revenues, the immense charge of a War that had impoverish'd him and his Dominions. The Marquess further added, That the Elector of *Bavaria* blam'd himself for engaging his Electoral Crown, and all the Riches of his Country, to discharge the Debts of a strange Nation that was ungrateful to him at last ; That he left these things to the Ministers of the two Crowns to consider and judge of the Condition that he was in, without Money, and without Remedy ; and that, in fine, he would leave it to the Generosity of the two Crowns, to consider him for the great Services, that he might be able to render 'em by espousing their Interest.

Having read and examin'd this Memoir, I told the Marquess *de Bedmar*, That his Electoral Highness had represented the Advantages that he was going to loose in leaving the Party of the Allies, but spoke not a Word of those that he might draw from his Union with the two Crowns. As the Most Christian King desired that I should treat upon a Project that Mon-

seigneur

*ſieur Chamillard* ſhould give me, I thought it proper to communicate the ſaid Memoir to that Miniſter that he might read it before he drew up the Project. The Marquels approving of it, I went the next morning to *Monſieur Chamillard*, and deliver'd it to him. He ask'd me ſeveral Questions upon my firſt Conference with the Marquels *de Beſenar*, and whether I found in him ſincere and favourable Diſpoſitions to the two Crowns : I told him that every thing would ſucceed very well by the aſſiſtance of Money, and that the Memoir that I preſented to him ſhew'd, that his Electoral Highneſs would be dearly paid for his Alliance with the two Crowns.

Two days after, *Monſieur Chamillard* gave me the Project that I ſpoke of ; it contain'd in Subſtance, That the Advancement of the Duke of *Anjou* on the Throne of *Spain* ought to ſerve as a Preliminary to a perfect Union between his Electoral Highneſs and a Prince that is his Nephew, the ſame Blood ought at this time to unite the ſame Interests ; That the two Kings on one part, and his Electoral Highneſs on the other, ought mutually to forget the Differences which had occaſion'd the laſt War, and inclin'd his Highneſs to ſide with the Enemies of the Crown of *France* ; That the Affairs of *Europe* having taken another turn, they ought to incline him to enter into other Engagements ; That he could not make choice of a Party that would be more agreeable to him than a perpetual Union with the two Crowns ; That if the Elector was inclin'd by the ſame Diſpoſitions as the two Kings were, he would no longer debar himſelf from entering into the Bonds of a ſtrict Alliance with them, and comply with the following Articles.

## I.

THat his Electoral Highneſs will keep the Treaty ſecret that ſhall be concluded between the two Kings and himſelf.

## II.

That he ſhall permit the Troops of *France* upon a certain day to enter into all the ſtrong Places of the *Low Countries*.

## III.

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## III.

That those Places being provided with *French* Garrisons, he shall consent that the Foreign Troops that are therein bedisarm'd and made Prisoners of War.

## IV.

That in case the War happen to break out between the two Kings and the other Powers of *Europe*, upon the Subject of the *Spanish* Succession, his Electoral Highness shall be engag'd to leave the *Low-Countries*, and go in Person into *Bavaria*.

## V.

That he would consent that the Marquess de *Bedmar* may have the Government of the *Low-Countries* during his absence.

## VI.

That his Electoral Highness being arriv'd in his Dominions in *Bavaria*, shall form a Party with the Princes and Circles of the Empire, under the pretence of an Association to maintain Peace.

## VII.

That he would receive into his Dominions a Body of *French* Troops with such a General as the Most Christian King shall think fit to command 'em.

## VIII.

That he shall make such a Diversion on that side with his Troops, as shall be thought necessary, as well to disturb the Empire, as to stop the Progress of the Arms of the Emperor in *Italy*, in favour of the two Crowns.

## IX.

That he shall perswade the Elector of *Cologne* his Brother to embrace the Interest of the two Kings, and to permit the *French* Troops to enter into such Places of his Electorate as they shall see convenient.

These are the Demands of the two Kings from the Elector; now we will see what they have promised him.

## I.

THat his Electoral Highness of *Bavaria* shall have a Subsidy of----- during his Life, to be paid Quarterly, and that the Elector of *Cologne* his Brother shall likewise have a Subsidy of----- to be paid after the same manner.

## II.

II.

That the two Kings shall engage themselves to defray the whole Charge of the War that his Electoral Highness should make in *Bavaria*, in order to disturb the Empire.

III.

That if it should please God to bless his Electoral Highness's Arms so far as to Dethrone the Emperor, the two Kings will employ all their Power to place his Electoral Highness upon the Imperial Throne.

IV.

That the Government of the *Spanish Low Countries* shall be assured to him and his Posterity for ever.

V.

That the two Kings will employ their Arms to bring to reason the Chapters of *Cologne* and *Liege*, which are divided against the Elector his Brother.

VI.

That the two Crowns will never make an end of the War without the Participation of his Electoral Highness, and first of all re establish him in his Dominions, and also the Elector of *Cologne*, in case the Arms of the Allies should dispossess 'em.

This was the Project upon which I was to treat with the Marquess *de Bedmar*. As he had full Power from the Elector to do every thing that he should think proper for his Highness's Interest; Monsieur *de Chamillard* and the Marquess *de Torcy* gave me also full Power, that we might the sooner bring the Negotiation to an end: It was of the greatest Importance to the two Crowns, that this Treaty should be concluded before the departure of the King of *Spain*. The Engagements that his Electoral Highness was going to enter into, were of great advantage to the two Kings; they would on one side contribute to the Establishment of the Duke of *Anjou* upon the Throne that he was going to advance, and on the other side would open a glorious Field to the Most Christian King, and enable him in all probability to make War therein with Success, against all the Powers that would pretend to dispute the new King's Succession to the

Monarchy

1700.

Monarchy of *Spain*. This Negotiation was not the only one that the Court of *France* was endeavouring to make use of to support their Designs: They had several others on foot which were carried on with so much Success, that the Powers concerned only expected the Signal, which was agreed upon by our Ministers, in order to take off their Masks. We may reckon in this number one of the most powerful Princes of the North, and likewise the Infurrection in *Hungary* under the Command of Prince *Ragotski*; but the Alliance of the Duke of *Bavaria* in respect to the great Advantages that were to be drawn from it, was of the greatest and most pressing Importance, so that I endeavour'd to conclude it with all possible speed. To this effect I had four several Conferences with the Marquess de *Bedmar*, in which I magnified the great Offers the two Kings made his Electoral Highness: But as I observ'd, that the Article of De-throning the Emperor, was what most affected the Marquess, in hopes of one day seeing the Elector Mount the Imperial Throne, I dexterously made use of that Clause to bring the Marquess to a Conclusion. The Affair of the Subsidy caused the greatest Debates between us, and as I had Orders from our Ministers to make a Bridge of Gold that might dazzle his Electoral Highness in his passage over it, I considered that the two Kings were so powerful as not to regard a Million more or less, so we brought the Affair to a Conclusion, to the mutual Satisfaction of the Marquess and my self. The Article inserted in the Treaty, whereby the Marquess was to have the Command of the *Low Countries*, during his Electoral Highness's absence, made him much more compliable, and very much facilitated the Negotiation. The Treaty being concluded, the two Kings sign'd it with this Reserve, That the King of *Spain* having earnestly desired an Interview with his Electoral Highness before his departure, to confer with him about several particular Affairs which would contribute to render their Union more firm and durable; and his Catholick Majesty having since resolved to depart for *Spain* the 4th of *December*, he would leave the care of that Interview to the Most Christian King; the two Kings there-  
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fore desir'd his Highness to come *incognito* to the Court of *France*, as soon as possible. The Elector overjoy'd with having entred into an Alliance with the two Crowns, and obtain'd all the Advantages that he hop'd for, was willing to gratifie the two Kings in their Request of an Interview, and immediately prepar'd for his Journey to the Court of *France*. His Mind was fill'd with a thousand Projects which pleasantly flatter'd his Ambition, and he expected that the King would with an open Heart communicate to him all the Secrets by which the War was to be carried on that they were going to enter into. His Electoral Highness having taken the first opportunity, came to *Versailles* disguis'd in a Hunter's Habir, a few days after the King of *Spain's* departure, and was only known at Court by the King and his Ministers, with whom he had several private Conferences.

The Affair of the Duke of *Bavaria* was not the only one that intrigued the Court after the acceptance of the Will; there was a necessity besides of seeking means to appease the two formidable Powers that had the principal part in the Treaty of Partition, *viz.* the King of *England* and the States General. These two Powers united were enough to ruin all the Projects of the two Crowns, if they should take up Arms. To divert the War, our Ministers, after they had consulted the most celebrated Lawyers, upon a contest wherein the Most Christian King's Reputation was so nearly concerned, were advis'd to put a new Construction upon the Treaty of Partition, in hopes thereby that the Powers offended would suffer themselves to be impos'd on, since they had shewed themselves unwilling to renew a War which they had but lately discharged themselves of. To this End Orders were sent to Count *Briord*, Ambassador of *France* to Monsieur the States General, to inform those Lords, ' That the Motives which had induc'd the King to ' make the Treaty of Partition, being to prevent the ' infinite Troubles that *Europe* would be afflicted with ' after the Death of the King of *Spain*, his Most ' Christian Majesty observ'd, that in accepting of the ' Will they should obtain that end with much less trouble :

1700. ' trouble : That they ought to regard the Spirit of the  
 ' Treaty of Partition, and not too Letter : That the  
 ' Death of the King of Spain having given a new Face  
 ' to Affairs, it was impossible to observe the Treaty,  
 ' according to its literal Force, without entering into  
 ' a general War.

Count *de Briord* presented the 4th of December a Memoir upon this Subject to the States. The Ambassador of Spain had presented one before to 'em on the 24th of October, by which he had inform'd their High and Mightinesses, that the Most Christian King had accepted the Will of the late King of Spain ; but that that acceptance instead of diminishing the Amity which had always been preserved between the Spaniards and the Dutch, should serve to augment it, and render the Peace more firm and stable. These Ministers plaid at that time a part which was very difficult for 'em to maintain. Count *de Briord* at the first News of the Death of the King of Spain, told the States, That they ought to put their Fleets to Sea, and their Troops upon their march, to maintain the Treaty of Partition, to which the King his Master was resolved to adhere. A few days after, having received orders from Court, he was oblig'd to tell another Tale, which gave the Lie to all his former Conduct. If the Ambassadors of the two Crowns to the States General acted their Parts in a Scene which very often forc'd them to a breach of Faith and Sincerity, which are Characters every where expected in Ministers ; Count *Tallard* was in no less perplexity in England : The King of France having caused that Minister to come to Court, his Majesty told him, That since he had found the secret of dividing the Monarchy of Spain, there was a necessity that he should yet find the secret of re-uniting it with the consent of the English in the Person of the Duke of Anjou : That he would leave to himself the care of informing them of the Motives that had induc'd him to reject the Treaty of Partition, and adhere to the King of Spain's Will. Count *Tallard* who knew to a nicety the Genius of the English, upon whom it is dangerous to impose, seriously reflected upon his future Destiny ; he could not forget the several Persons that he had engag'd to induce

induce the Kings of *England* to this Negotiation : He himself had made large Encomiums to that Prince of the Most Christian King, his Master's Sincerity, and all along assured him, That his Majesty had taken so firm a Resolution to bound all his Pretensions to the Monarchy of *Spain* by the Treaty of Partition, that nothing in the World would be capable of dissuading from it. Count *Tallard* foreseeing that he should make but a very ill figure at the Court of *England*, and even expose himself to popular Emotions to the risque of his Life, desir'd the King to excuse him from that Embassy, & name some other Minister to supply his Place ; but his Majesty signified to him, That all his Instances would be to no purpose, and that he must prepare for his Journey. Count *Tallard*, after having had some particular Conferences with Monsieur *Chamillard*, the Marquess *de Torcy*, and Monsieur *de Pomponne*, left *Versailles*, and arrived at *London* the 19th of *December*. Having some days after his arrival obtain'd Audience of the King, he deliver'd his Majesty the Most Christian King's Letter, by which that Monarch inform'd him, That he had accepted of the King of *Spain*'s Will, in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*. Count *Tallard*, afterwards willing to make use of the Construction that our Ministers had made upon the Treaty of Partition, said, That they ought to regard the Spirit of the Treaty, and not the Letter. But this Explanation was received as coldly with that Prince, as it had been before by the States General, when the Count *de Briord* presented them his Memoir. I have said that his Britannick Majesty, upon the advice that he had received from his Ambassador at *Madrid*, that the Marquess *d' Harcourt* used his utmost endeavour to obtain a Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, refused to sign the said Treaty till he had received a Letter from his Most Christian Majesty, wherein he promis'd, upon his Royal Word, that he would never depart from the Treaty of Partition, if he should even have a Will that call'd one of the Infants of *France* to the Succession of *Spain*. As Count *Tallard* was ignorant of that Particular, the King of *England* took this occasion to convince him by his own Eyes of the Treachery of the King his Master,

1700. in an Affair wherein the said Count had made such Encomiums of his Sincerity. The King went into his Cloſet, from whence he brought the Letter, and deliver'd it to Count *Tallard*. That Miniſter, full of Confuſion at the reading of it, had little more to ſay; but having taken leave of his Maſteſty went out of the Hall of Audience, and retired to his Houſe, deſpairing ever to return to a Court, where the King and his Miniſters by hiding from him the Secret, had made him a Spectacle of Scorn and Hatred. He writ to Court, and told the King, that finding himſelf in a great perplexity, he deſired that he would pleaſe to recall him.

The King of *England* and Monſieurs the States General exaſperated with this kind of Treatment from the *French* Court, deſired nothing more than to prepare themſelves for War; they arm'd by Sea, made new Levies of Soldiers and Seamen, hir'd Foreign Troops, and form'd new Alliances. But as all theſe Preparations required time, the Countries being every where open, and the King of *France* putting the great Armies that he had on foot upon their March; theſe two Powers thought neceſſary to call in Negotiations to ſuccour their preſent Feebleneſs, and omit the Declaration of War till they found themſelves in a better State. Monſieurs the States plaid a Game upon this occaſion, which has given a great Proof of their Policy, and they could not revenge themſelves more dexterouſly upon *France* than by the Methods that they took. As Count *Briord* was more fit for War than Treaties; the Cavalier Air that he treated the States with (in declaring to 'em the Intentions of the King upon the Will, and by inſinuating to 'em, that they ought to remember that they were heretofore dependant on the Crown of *Spain*) extreamly provok'd 'em. Their High and Mightineſs's cunningly made uſe of this Pretext to gain time, and deſired the Court of *France* that the Count d' *Avaux* might be ſent to treat with 'em, becauſe that Miniſter having been formerly Ambaſſador at their Court, had a more perfect knowledge of their Government.

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The Count *d'Avaux* being arriv'd at the *Hague*, did not doubt but that he should manage this Republick in such manner as the King and his Ministers would have reason to approve of. That Minister, during his Embassy at that Place, where he resided several Years, when the King of *England* was but Prince of *Orange*, particularly distinguish'd himself, and the King never had any Ambassador in *Holland* that has maintain'd his Character with so much Splendor. He equaliz'd himself in appearance with the Prince, and affect'd to have the like Retinue, the same number of Pages and Footmen; his Coaches and his Equipage were not inferior to those of his Highness. He even pretended, that in quality of the Most Christian King's Ambassador, he ought to be permitted to enter into the Court at the same Gate that the Prince alone was permitted to enter; and upon the refusal that was made him, he complain'd to the States, who did not think proper to grant it. This unreasonable Contest disgust'd his Highness, and occasion'd the King to order the *Marquess de Louvois* to write to this Ambassador, and tell him, That that Haughtiness did not agree with his Character, and that he did not approve of his Conduct therein. The Count *d'Avaux* thought that he should do a Pleasure to his Majesty in giving a new Lustre to his Embassy, by distinguishing himself from all other Ministers that had preceded him. But the Court, willing to keep a fair Correspondence with a Prince so Powerful in that Republick, had Reasons sufficient to avoid such Jarrs and Differences as depended purely on the Caprices of an Ambassador.

As that Minister took this opportunity to chagrin the Prince of *Orange*, his Highness, in his Turn, when occasion presented, effectually returned such Offices as were no less displeasing to the Ambassador; witness the Affair of Count *St. Paul*. That Count writ a Book, whose Title was, *The Emperor and Empire drawn, how, and by whom*. This Work made a great noise in the World, and extremely provok'd the King and his Ministers; because it brought to light the Intrigues that they made use of for the Subversion of the Empire. The Count *d'Avaux*, who was very zealous

For. lous for the King's Glory, used his utmost endeavour to discover and apprehend the Author. Being informed by his Spies that he was at *Amsterdam*, he wrote to the Marquess de *Louvois* desiring him to send him some faithful Persons that would execute this Project : Four Persons were sent to him, whom he order'd to go to *Amsterdam*, and endeavour to find out and seize the Count *St. Paul* : The Count having been secretly advis'd of this Design, immediately gave the great Bayliff of the Town an account of it, who instructed him how he should decoy these four Persons into their own snare. The Count carefully avoided going from Home in the Night, perceiving that to be the time that his Enemies intended to execute their Designs : The Bayliff having one night posted Guards at every Turning and Passage thereabout, advis'd the Count to go abroad, it being then about Eleven a Clock : The Count was no sooner got out of his Lodgings but the four Conspirators appear'd all Mask'd, seiz'd him, and would have carried him off ; but the Guards immediately came up, and in their turn seiz'd them : They were transported to the *Hague*, confin'd in the Gate Prison, and, being found to be all concern'd in the Conspiracy, the Court of Justice call'd them to their Trial, where they were condemn'd to Die. The Count d' *Abaux*, who had the sole management of this Intrigue, and was consequently accountable for the Success, which was like to cost those unfortunate People that he had employ'd, their Lives, used his utmost endeavour to procure their Pardon. To this End he was oblig'd to apply himself to the Prince, and intreat his Clemency, who had then a fair opportunity of letting the Ambassador know his Authority in that Republick, in spite of the little Esteem he had shewn for his Dignity, in pretending to vie with him, and make himself his equal.

The Count seeing the Gallows erected for the Execution of these four Persons, sent the *Sieur Didier* his Secretary to the Prince to beg his Pardon for these condemn'd Persons ; but his Highness refus'd it, and at the same time gave orders to the Officers, that they should proceed to the Execution. The Prince, glad to find an opportunity of humbling this Ambassador, signified

signified to his Secretary, That the Count *d'Avaux* ought in such an Affair as this to have given himself the trouble of coming to ask his Favour. The Secretary being return'd, and having given the Ambassador an account of what had pass'd with his Highness; he seeing there were no delays to be made, took Coach and went immediately to Court, the Prisoners being then upon the Scaffold; he beg'd the Prince's Grace to those four unhappy Persons with abundance of Civility; the Prince, satisfied with these respectful and submissive Steps, granted him his request.

It was not only in these sort of particular Differences that the Count *d'Avaux* thwarted his Highness, he used besides all imaginable Intrigues to create a Misunderstanding between Monsieurs the States and that Prince: When the Prince desired the Republick, that they would make new Levies of Troops and Money to oppose the great Designs of the King of *France*, who, he told them, did in the midst of Peace become Master of the strongest Towns, and obtain more Advantages than in an open War; then the Count *d'Avaux* represented to their High Mightinesses, that they had no reason to be uneasie at any thing on the part of his Most Christian Majesty; that he had no other Aim than that of preserving Peace, and entertaining a good Correspondence with that Republick: He added, That the Prince of *Orange* labour'd to perswade them to the contrary, out of the Ambition that he had of advancing himself to the Sovereignty, according to the Examples of his Ancestors, who had attempted it in vain: That as War had always contributed to the Incroachments of the Princes of the House of *Nassau*, upon the Constitution of their State, they could not think it strange if this last Prince was animated with the same Ambition, which would be one day fatal to that Republick, if Monsieurs the States in their great Wisdom did not oppose it, by denying to that Prince the great Armies that he desired to push on his ambitious Designs. The Count *d'Avaux*, to obtain his Ends, took care at the same time underhand to disperse such Libels as might give ill Impressions on the Conduct of his Highness; and by favour of all these In-

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trigues the Armies of *France* attack'd the Towns, and became Masters of the Fortresses which were a Barrier to the United Provinces; such was the taking of *Luxembourg*, and other strong Places, for which our Court was oblig'd to the Artifices of the Count d' *Avaux* altho' he had only acted upon the Plan that our Ministers had sent him. But time has discover'd that the Prince of *Orange* busied himself at this time out of a pure Principle of Zeal that he had for the Preservation of his Country, that he might be enabled to put a stop to the Progress of those Conquests that the King's Armies made in the midst of Peace. As the Success of all these Projects depended upon the secret Intelligencies that the Count then had with some Members of that Republick, I am not surpriz'd that at his arrival at the *Hague* upon the Affair of the King of *Spain's* Will, he complain'd, that he found the Form of that Government so much alter'd that he was a perfect Stranger to it. Indeed the Card was chang'd, and Affairs had taken another Turn; he was now no longer able to byass 'em as before. They were so clearly convinc'd of the King's Designs, that they saw, that nothing but Union amongst the Members of so Powerful a Republick was able to secure them from the danger they were in.

Having known very particularly the Count d' *Avaux* at the Court of *France*, from whom I received all that I have here related, I thought this little digression would not be unacceptable, since it shews the Character and Genius of that Minister. The King, reflecting upon the former influence that his Minister had at the *Hague*, easily perswaded himself to comply with the request of the States, in sending him to their Court, thinking that he would by his Management induce the States, amicably to put an end to the present Contelt about the King of *Spain's* Will, and the Treaty of Partition.

But the King being from time to time inform'd of the Motions and Preparations that Monsieurs the States General made to ward off the fatal Blow, that was likely to befall 'em, believed, that to help forward the Negotiation of the Count d' *Avaux*, it was now time to put in execution the Engagements that he had entred

entred into with the Elector of *Bavaria*, which had cost him several Millions of Money. The day appointed being come, the second Article of the Treaty that I had concluded with the Marquess *de Bedmar* was executed: The *French* Troops entred into all the fortified Places of the *Low-Countries*. The Foreign Troops that were therein were disarm'd and made Prisoners of War. The Design of the Court by this Violence was to oblige the Lords the States General, to whom those Troops belong'd, to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*, and afterwards to renew the ancient Treaty of Peace that they had with that Crown; in short, that under the shelter of a Peace a little longer continued, the new King might have time to fix himself upon his Throne. I have a little pass'd by the departure of the new King, because I would not interrupt the recital of those things which have caused the War of *Spain*. I come now to the departure of his Catholick Majesty, and those Persons of Distinction that the Most Christian King had nam'd to attend him.

Never did the Court of *France* upon any occasion express so great a Joy as at the departure of this Prince, and at the same time never labour'd under a more sensible Regret. She on one Hand had the pleasure of parting with a young Prince, whom she had with infinite care and labour rais'd to the Throne of one of the most Powerful Monarchies in the World; and, on the other Hand, had the sensible regret of sending him amongst a strange People, who had always appear'd mortal Enemies to *France*, and could never endure their Kings, unless they reign'd in every nicety according to the Customs of their own Country. The first Sentiment was the effect of the Most Christian King's Ambition, who gloried in having so happily succeeded in his Designs: The second was, from a secret reproach of Conscience for having cheated all *Europe* in giving a Crown to his Grandson that belong'd to a Prince of the House of *Austria*. Some will say that Kings are above Justice; but as God is above Kings, he confounds in his good time all their Projects, when they are not just; so that their Designs, howsoever they suc-



ceed, are always deliberately weighed by a Wisdom superior to their own. When the Duke of *Anjou* began his Journey for *Spain*, no Body at Court ever expected to see him again in *France*; but perhaps according to the present course of Affairs in that Kingdom, they may find themselves deceiv'd. If our Ministers would have well reflected upon the Events that might occur in a terrible War which was breaking forth upon this occasion, perhaps they would have been more circumspect in their Councils than to advise his Majesty to accept of the deceased King's Will; But the King of *France*, who esteem'd the Advancement of his Grandson upon the Throne of *Spain*, to be the most glorious Act of his Reign, was not wanting in any thing to support that Glory; and to make it shine throughout all *Christendom*; he kept on foot two powerful Armies; open'd his Treasures, and parted from his Riches with a bountiful Hand: He was extremely solicitous about the departure of the new King; regulated even the Road that he should take, nam'd the Lords of the Court that should attend him on his Journey; the number of the Guards du Corps, the Brigades of Gens d'Arms, the Musketeers, and the *Swiss* who were to guard his Catholick Majesty to *Madrid*: He order'd also the Equipages of the two Princes, the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, who pray'd his Majesty to give them leave to accompany the King their Brother to the Frontiers of *Spain*. The Evening before his Catholick Majesty set out, the King call'd into his Closet the Duke de *Beauvilliers*, the Marshal Duke of *Noailles*, Governors of the Infants of *France*, and the Marquesses *Siggis* and *Razilli*, under Governors, and had a particular Conference with those Lords, concerning the care that they were to take of the Conduct and Health of the new King, and the Infants of *France*. His Majesty told them, that he had order'd 24 Purse, in each of which was 1000 Louis's d'Or, which were to be equally divided between the King and his two Brothers, and besides that his Catholick Majesty should have a Present of 100000 Louis's d'Or. His Most Christian Majesty added, that that Journey would cost him several Millions of Money, but that

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he should be very well satisfied, provided those Liberalities that he should make would be to the purpose. He concluded, recommending to 'em above all to have particular regard to the good behaviour of the three Princes, and to inspire 'em with the excellency of Heroick Virtues, and every good Principle that might render them one day worthy to reign with as much Glory as their Ancestors. The next day being the 4th of December, the day of his Catholick Majesty's departure, when every thing was ready for his Journey, his Majesty went into Monsiegnur the Dauphin's Apartment, with whom he had an Interview of half an hour.

Monsiegnur the Dauphin told him at parting, *That he ought all his Life time to remember the generous Sacrifice that he had made in his favour, of a Crown that by Right belong'd to himself: but that he readily consented to his Advancement thereto, from a motive of Affection natural from a Father to his Son; and that besides this Paternal Affection, reasons of State had induced him to consent thereto, to prevent the perpetual Wars that would follow the a parent Union of the Two Monarchies in his Person, as the next heir to the Crown of France: That altho' he was the first Candidate to that Crown, yet his Possession of it was uncertain; however, it was an extream pleasure to see him ascend the Throne of one of the most powerful Monarchies in the World, perswaded that he would never forget that Benefit from his Father: That he desired no other acknowledgment but that he should always love him tenderly, and also his Brothers the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, but more especially the Crown of France, from whence he was descended, with whom he should keep a perpetual Union.* The remaining part of the Interview was spent in mutual expressions of Love and Tenderness between the Father and the Son: After which, the Most Christian King, before his going to Mass, entered into a Closet which join'd to the new King's Chamber, where he convers'd with that young Prince about half an hour, Monsiegnur the Dauphin being present. It was then that great Monarch, so skilful in the Art of Reigning, gave Lessons to his Grandson to instruct him in Kingly Knowledge, and render his Reign memorable to Posterity. K 4 His

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His Majesty told him, ' That he ought to remember all his Life time that he was an Infant of *France*: ' That he should never embrace the particular Sentiments of a Nation that had been always an irreconcilable Enemy to the Crown that he descended from, so far as at any time to make War against his Brothers: That he should for ever remember the Paternal Care that he had taken of him, and the immense Treasures that he had sacrificed to advance him to so great a Monarchy: That the remembrance of the Benefits that he had received from the Crown of *France*, ought for ever to keep him under an Obligation to that Crown: That a reciprocal Union between the two Monarchies, would always support him, and render him one day as absolute in *Spain* as himself was in *France*: ' That he doubted not but the beginning of his Reign would be a little uneasy to a Nation that had lov'd the Princes of the House of *Austria* preferable to all others: That he foresaw that the Affection which the *Spaniards* always had for that House would cause a new War to break forth; but he hop'd that the Dispositions that he had made would subvert all the Projects of his Enemies, and render his Reign in *Spain* flourishing: That to attain that Happiness, which ought to be the chief End of all Princes which ascend the Throne, he advis'd him to hold it for a Maxim, to humble the Great, and advance the Low; and by so doing he would reduce both to an awful Submission, in which consisted the true Art of Reigning. After this Discourse the Most Christian King presented a Treaty of Union and perpetual Alliance between the two Crowns to his Catholick Majesty, in order to be sign'd. By this Treaty, his Catholick Majesty yielded up to the Most Christian King, and to the Crown of *France* for ever the *Low-Countries* and the *Milanese*, in consideration of the great Expences that *France* had suffer'd to advance him upon the Throne of *Spain*. The Most Christian King at the same time engag'd himself to give an Equivalent to the Elector of *Bavaria* and Prince *Vaudemont* for their Interests in those Countries. His Catholick Majesty thereby promis'd further,

ther, not to do any thing of moment during his Reign and that of his Successors, but in concert with, and according to the Councils of the Most Christian King, and those of his Ministers : That he would permit no other Nation but that of the *French* to Trade in the *Indies*. On the other side, the Most Christian King and his Successors to the Crown of *France*, engag'd themselves to assist the said Catholick King and his Successors, with all their Forces in whatsoever War they shall undertake, or shall be declar'd against him by the Enemies of the two Crowns.

After this young Monarch had received the King's Advice, and sign'd the Treaty that was presented to him, he went into Madam the Marchioness of *Maintenon's* Apartment to take his leave also of her : The Marchioness told him, ' That she had offer'd up her Vows and Prayers to Heaven for his Advancement on the Throne, and it had pleas'd God to hear her : That she did now beg of the same Providence to establish him upon the same Throne : That she wish'd him the Love of his People that he was going to govern, and a Reign full of Prosperity, always attended with Victory over his Enemies : That as all *France* did her the Honour to say, that she had always well advis'd the King, it was a pleasure to her to see, that the Advice she had given him upon the Treaty of Partition, and the acceptance of the Will had so well succeeded. She desir'd his Catholick Majesty that he would please always to honour her with his Esteem and Favour : That he would never forget the Crown of *France*, that had given him his Birth, nor do any thing but in concert with the Most Christian King, to whom he was indebted for his Advancement.

After these Interviews, there was yet another at *Seaux*, a House of Pleasure belonging to the D. of *Main*, where the Court bid her last adieu's to the young King : Here appear'd the greatest excess of mutual Love and Tenderness ; here Grief and Joy were heap'd one upon another, and made a spectacle worthy the remembrance of future Ages. Madam the Dutchess of *Main*, the Evening before his Catholick Majesty's departure, went to *Seaux*. The Dutchess *de la Ferté* and

1701. and de Lauzun, Madam de Menneville and Madam de Lasse accompanied her, and assisted in making all those Preparations design'd for the reception of so many Princes: The Duke of *Main* and Count *Thoulouze* came there at One a Clock in the Morning. The next day, the Princess d' *Harcourt*, Madam the Dutchess, Madam d' *Anguien*, Madam the Princess of *Fulstemberg*, and the Dutchess of *Humieres* and Madam de *Courtenvaux* came there about eleven a Clock to wait upon their Majesties.

As soon as Mass was ended, the two Kings went down the great Stair-case into the Court, where the Coach waited for them. The King of *Spain* plac'd himself on the right, the Most Christian King on the left, and the Dutchess of *Burgundy* sat in the middle, between the two Monarchs, on the back part of the Coach; Monseigneur the Dauphin, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* on the fore part, Monsieur and Madam the King's Brother and his Spouse sat at each Door. The Ladies of the Court that attended their Majesties went into their Majesties Coaches, and those of the Princes that attended them, and rode before. The Coach wherein the two Kings were was follow'd by 100 of the Guards du Corps with their Trumpers and Kettle Drums; it was likewise surrounded by Footmen, and had a great many Officers on Horseback riding on each side. The light Horse Guards march'd before, and the Gendarms clos'd the march. In this order the Court left *Versailles* the 4th of *December*, half an hour after 10 a clock, and a quarter after 12 arriv'd at *Seaux*. The multitude of People, and vast number of Coaches that throng'd the Roads to *Seaux*, was inexpressible. The Scaffolds that were rais'd behind the Garden Walls, the tops of the Houses, and even the Trees were full of all sorts of People, whose curiosity had brought them to be Spectators of such an Object that *France* had never shewn before. The great Road was divid'd on both sides with four rows of Coaches. Their Majesties, at their arrival, were receiv'd by Monsieur the Prince, Monsieur the Duke, and Monsieur the Duke of *Main*. The two Kings having perceiv'd the prodigious throng of People that stood in the passage

sage to the Castle, went up into an outward Chamber, and left all the Court in the great Hall. Their Majesties had in that retir'd Apartment a Conference of about half an hour, where the King of *France* gave his Grandson his last Instructions upon the Art of Government. After this private Conversation between the two Kings, the Princes of the Court were call'd one after another to come and make their last Adieu's to his Catholick Majesty. The Most Christian King call'd first Monseigneur the Dauphin, half a quarter of an hour after his Majesty call'd the Ambassador of *Spain*, who having again taken leave of his Catholick Majesty, retir'd into the Hall: Monseigneur the Duke, and Madam the Dutches of *Burgundy* were afterwards call'd, then M. the Duke of *Berry*, and after ward M. and Madam; a moment after Monsieur the Prince, and afterwards the Princesses, then Monsieur the Duke, the Duke of *Main*, the Count de *Thoulouze* and the Prince of *Conti*. These render farewells of so many august Persons were follow'd with abundance of Tears; and never was the Court so heavily affected with Grief as at this parting; the Most Christian King himself seem'd very much concern'd, and embrac'd the King his Grandson with the greatest Tenderness; he embrac'd also the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, who were to accompany the new King to the Frontiers of *Spain*. At taking Coach the King again embrac'd his Catholick Majesty with so much Passion that the Spectators were all extremely mov'd thereat. The Duke of *Burgundy* sat backwards on the right, and the new King on the left; the Duke of *Berry* and the Marshal Duke of *Noailles* sat forwards, and at the Doors the Marquess de *Seignelai* and de *Razilli*, under Governours of the Infants of *France*. After the departure of the King of *Spain*, Monseigneur the Dauphin took Coach, and went to the Castle of *Mendon* to dissipate a part of that Grief, which was caused by this separation from the new King his Son. The King, after some short stay at *Seaux*, returned with the Dutches of *Burgundy* for *Versailles*, which put an end to this splendid Entertainment.

The Most Christian King had so well regulated our way of living upon our Journey, that he took upon

1701. upon him, if I may so say, the Function of a Physician. We had orders not to Dine, but only to make a Breakfast and Supper, and to Sup and go to our Beds at a good hour.

Never was any Submission seen like that which the Magistrates and People shew'd in all the Towns that the new King and the Princes pass thro', which shews that despicable Slavery to which the Most Christian King has reduc'd all *France*. Besides the prodigious Expence that these Towns were at in giving marks of the Zeal and profound Veneration they had for the Princes of his House, nothing was more pleasant than the Harangues that were made 'em. Their Ceremonies were a Spectacle worthy of perpetual Memory: For my part, I could not forbear laughing, nor indeed the other Lords of our Company at the ridiculous Flattery of most part of their Addressees. If I was to make a particular recital of all that pass'd in the Reception of the new King, and the Princes his Brothers, upon their Journey, a large Volume would not be sufficient to contain it. It may be judg'd of other Places by *Bordeaux*, of which I shall give here a short relation.

The 30th of *December* about Four a Clock in the Morning, the King of *Spain* and the Princes his Brothers, embark'd by the light of Torches at the Port of *Blaye*, upon an extraordinary Ship that the Magistrates of *Bordeaux* had caused to be built expressly upon this Occasion. This Ship was about 40 Tuns in burthen, 18 Foot broad, and about 50 long, on the middle of which a Pavillion was rais'd, which was painted on the top in imitation of Slate-tyling, and was cover'd like the top of a Coach, had four great Flower-de-luces of Gold drawn at the four Corners; it was about the bigness of an ordinary Boat, and about 24 Feet in length. The Arms of the Town of *Bordeaux* were painted in Gold upon the Covering: The out side of this proud Building was adorn'd with great Medals and Inscriptions, representing the Glory of his Catholick Majesty, and the two Princes. Some call'd it the *Naval House*, others the *Royal House*: The Magistrates in the Name of the Town presented it to the King of *Spain*.

It

It had Pilasters at equal distance from each other, upon which were represented the Arms of the several Kingdoms which compose the *Spanish* Monarchy. These Arms were all again united upon the Frontispieces of the Doors of the Pavillion, and joined to the Arms of *France*.

This Edifice was glaz'd with Looking-Glass, Gold and Azure were liberally bestow'd upon it, which made it extreamly rich and glorious. A Gallery painted with blue and red, and likewise richly gilt, in which there was sufficient room to walk, surrounded it: There were two large Rooms, one at the Poop, and the other at the Prow: The inside of the Pavillion was hang'd throughout with a Crimson Velvet, edg'd on all sides with a Gold Lace four Fingers broad. The Head or Roof of the Pavillion was adorn'd with the same Hanging, to which was fix'd a Pente, or Vallence of 9 Inches length, made of the same, and edg'd with a Lace and very deep Fringe, both of Gold. The Pavillion was divided in the middle by a range of gilt Ballisters, which in a manner form'd two Chambers: That which was design'd for his Catholic Majesty and the two Princes lay backwards towards the Poop, had about the extent of an ordinary standing Bed: The Floor was also cover'd with Velvet: There was in it a Table cover'd with the same as the Hangings were, adorn'd with a Gold Fringe, and also Seats cover'd with Velvet and edg'd as the Hangings, upon which lay three-square Cushions cover'd over with Gold Lace. In the other Chamber, whose Floor was cover'd but with Moquet, was six little Stools and twelve Seats, call'd Perroquets, which hung upon the side of the Pavillion, and were propt up at Pleasure, all cover'd with Velvet and Gold Lace: At the upper part of the Pavillion, towards the Prow, was a Sash'd Door with two large Panes of Glass; there was also another Sash'd Door at each end of the Ballisters. The Curtains were Crimson Damask with a very deep Golden Fringe, and reach'd from the top to the bottom of the Room. The Ship was lighted with an infinite number of Wax Candles in Silver Sconces, which made the Riches of these Moveables, with which it was adorn'd, appear very splendidly. While

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Whilst his Majesty and the Princes were embarking, they were saluted with a Salvo from the Cannon of the Town of *Blaye*, from that of the Citadel, from the Fort in the Isle, and from the Fort of *Medoc*, as also from the Ships in the Port, which were join'd by a great number of Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, and other Instruments of Musick; the People at the same time testifying their Joy with Shouts and Acclamations.

Besides this Royal Structure, there were two others prepar'd for the young Lords of his Majesty's Retinue, two for his Majesty's Chamber and Guard-robe, one for the Chamber and Guard-robe of the Duke of *Burgundy*, one for the Chamber and Guard-robe of the Duke of *Berry*, one for the Almoners and Centesors, one for the Steward and Comptrollers, and one for the Brigadiers of the Guards. The greatest part of the three Princes Servants were embark'd the Evening before, as also the chief part of the Guards.

About five a Clock we left *Blaye*, the Water was a little rough, but notwithstanding that we continu'd our course without perceiving much motion. The Shalop wherein was Monsieur *de Sourdis* was built like a Gally, had at the Poop a Dragoon gullit, run about a quarter of a League before the King; she had a great Lanthorn full of lights to guide the other Ships that followed, and was rowed after the *Turkish* mode, by 30 able Men, uniform in their Habit.

The Royal Ship was tow'd by four Barques painted Blue, interspers'd with a flower de-luces and golden Crosses: There was in each of these Barques a Pilot, and Twenty-four chosen Rowers, their Oars were all painted Blue, their Habits were of the same Colour trim'd with Silver Lace, their Caps were Velvet trim'd likewise with Silver Lace, there were Fifty others follow'd in case of necessity, and two other Barques run on each side of the Royal Ship, with abundance of Violins and Hotboys which play'd during the whole Passage: There were also two little Brigantines, each carrying six pieces of Cannon, which were kept continually firing. We had at the same time Volleys from the Artillery and Musquets of the Houses and Castles on each side the River. There

was

was also an infinite number of Ships and Boats of all sorts follow'd the Royal Structure, insomuch that the River seem'd to be cover'd with them. We had not made above half our Passage but we heard new Conforts; and two little Ships which the Sea seem'd to produce, came up to us on a sudden, and rang'd themselves with the Royal Ship, with as much address likewise as expedition. Twenty-five Officers appear'd all on a sudden, and serv'd up with the greatest diligence and nicety, an Entertainment of Meats, Fruits, and other Refreshments which the Magistrates of *Bordeaux* had prepar'd in the behalf of the Town: This Entertainment was held in one of the Shalops which run close to the Royal Ship; the other Shalop was fill'd with a Consort of Violins, Hoebays, Musets and Trumpets. The two Ships that came last up had on board all the Provisions, and the Officers that were to prepare them, one of 'em had 18 Stows to keep the Victuals hot: This repast was serv'd with so much dexterity, and every thing dress'd so delicate and savory that all the Court was charm'd with it.

Time insensibly run away amidst all these grateful Entertainments till we came so far as *Lormont*, where we began to discover *Bordeaux*. As soon as it was said the Town appear'd, his Catholick Majesty and the Princes his Brothers left the Table and went out into the Gallery on the Prow of the Ship. Monsieur the Duke of *Burgundy* found the Prospect so charming that he had a great desire to take a draught of it.

There were 8 Batteries of Cannon upon the Keys from *Bucalan* even to the Castle, and there were six Amphitheatres rais'd opposite to the place where the Royal Structure was to arrive. Four or Five hundred Vessels, amongst which were a great many *Spanisk*, *Flemish*, *English* and *Dutch* were rang'd upon a line about 400 yards from the Shoar, there was not less than 200 Boats followed the Court as far as *Lormont*.

All things being thus dispos'd, the Royal Ship advanced preceded by the Vessels that I have before mention'd, and followed by three or four hundred Shalops and Boats loaden, some using their Sails, and others their Oars. His Majesty and the Princes were conducted

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ducted to the Shoar, a little wide of the Port, under a discharge of the Cannon from the Ships, from the Forts and the Batteries that were rais'd upon the banks of the River. Never did I see so great a concourse of People as came thither from all parts, nothing could be heard but their Shouts, *Vive le Roy, Vive le Roy*. The Magistrates of the Town waited for the King upon a great Wooden Bridge lin'd with Tapestry; this Bridge lay upon four Wheels that it might be conveniently fix'd at one end of the Royal Ship, and the other might join to the Coach Door, which his Majesty and the Princes his Brothers were to go into. The Coaches of all the Principal Inhabitants of the Town were also rang'd near it to make the greater Retinue.

It was upon this Bridge that Monsieur the Baron d' *Illau*, chief Magistrate of the Town had the honour to compliment his Majesty under a Canopy of Cloath of Tissue trim'd with a Fringe and Lace of Gold. This Canopy was afterwards given to his Majesty's Footmen. The Guards of the Town cloath'd in red, with Cloaks of the same, lin'd the way from the Place of his Majesty's landing to *Red Chappel Gate*, where his Majesty entred into the Town. 100 of the *Switz* Guards, and the Horse Guards du Corps, march'd before him, the latter had their Swords in Hand. From *Red Chappel Gate* to the Archbishop's Palace, where the King and the Princes took up their Lodgings, the Balconies were fill'd with Ladies, and adorn'd with rich Tapestry: Scaffolds were rang'd along the Streets fill'd with People: The Streets were all clear'd, the Shops shut, and the Burghers under Arms. The Burghers made up six Regiments, every Regiment cloath'd uniform, but differing one from another.

The inside of the Gate of the Archbishop's Palace was adorn'd with Crowns of Lawrel, with the Arms of *France* and *Spain*, and hang'd with rich Tapestry. The Palace was guarded all the time that his Catholick Majesty and the two Princes staid there with 200 Men of the Regiment of *Charolois*, which was in Garrison in the Castle; the Burghers desir'd that honour, but it was not granted them.

When the Court was arriv'd at the Archbishop's Palace, the Magistrates of the Town, having put on the

the Habit usual at the reception of Kings, made their Present to his Catholick Majesty; their Robes were of white and scarlet Satin, whereas upon other Occasions they only wear Damask. The Presents they made his Majesty were in four great Baskets, in one of which was three dozen of white Wax Flambeaux, each weighing four pounds, and thirty Wax Candles; in another was two Quintals of all sorts of curious Confects in different Boxes; the two others were full of all sorts of Wine in Bottles. They afterwards made their Compliments to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, and made them the like Presents. The next day they presented to the King and each of the two Princes two great Baskets of Oysters; they made likewise the Dukes *de Beauvilliers* and *de Noailles* each a Present of half what they had done to the King and the two Princes.

The same day that his Majesty arriv'd, about two a clock in the Afternoon, the Parliament assembled in their scarlet Robes at the Church of *St. Andrew*, and went afterwards in a Body to Court. The *Marqueis de Sourdis* receiv'd them in the Anti-chamber, and introduc'd them to the King. His Majesty sat cover'd when Monsieur the chief President began to speak, but when he pronounc'd the Word SIR, his Majesty did him the honour to uncover, and also every time afterwards at that word; and as that Minister took occasion often to speak of the King of *France*, it was observ'd, that his Catholick Majesty made him then a much lower Conge. The Complement being ended, his Majesty gave them a very obliging Answer, and having put his Hat upon his Knee all the Gentlemen of that Body pass'd by and saluted him. Monsieur *de Sourdis* conducted the Parliament back to the top of the Stairs, and retir'd for a little time. The Court of Aids came afterwards, *M. Soudirand* their President was their Speaker. The difference between the Reception of the Parliament and the Court of Aids was, that when the Court of Aids fil'd off in saluting the King, his Majesty did not uncover. The Treasurers came afterwards and made the like Compliment, and had the same reception as the Court of Aids.

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There was in the Evening an extraordinary Shew of Fireworks before the Town-house, frequent Salvo's from their Musquets, and 24 pieces of Cannon that were plac'd upon the Ditches, which were answer'd by the Cannon of the Citadel, and the Fortifications of the Town. There was four Fountains continually running with Wine; And Illuminations and Bonfires throughout the whole Town. In the Evening the chief President made a publick Supper, and had afterwards a Ball. The Marquess *de Sourdis* and Monsieur the Intendant kept also an open Table that Evening, and all the time the Court continued there.

The 31st which was the next day after the Court's arrival, the Parliament saluted the two Princes by Deputies to the number of 30, all in black Gowns and Caps. Monsieur the chief President spoke for them, and speaking to the Princes said, Monseigneurs. The Court of Aids and the other Courts saluted them also by their Deputies. The Princes received all these Companies standing cover'd; and uncovered only at their own Interpellations, and at the name of the King.

I shall conclude my Relation of the King's reception at *Bordeaux*, with a little Adventure which happen'd to the new King. Princes are as soon affected with Affairs of Love as other Men. His Majesty eating in publick, the People had all the liberty of coming into the Hall where he was, so that we saw a perpetual concourse of People, some coming in as others were going forth. There were some Ladies of good Quality amidst the Crowd. The Desert being brought in, there was a young *Gascon* Virgin drew near the King's Table, about 18 years of Age, well grown, of a majestick lively Countenance, very neatly dress'd; and besides all this, had something charming in her Air, which distinguish'd her from all others of her Sex, that were about this young Monarch's Table. The King, without any further Ceremony, took a Dish of Sweet-meats and turn'd them into her Apron: She received his Majesty's Present with a surprising Modesty, but could not forbear blushing, which increased her Charms, and made her admir'd by all the Spectators. The young King smil'd upon her, and signified by the many tender glances, with which

which he beheld her, the impressions that she had made upon his Heart. 1701.

As the fair Virgin could not without Confusion bear her part in this Scene, she thought proper to withdraw. His Majesty losing the sight of her, whisper'd to one of his Pages, and bid inform himself of the name and abode of this young Virgin. The repast being ended, the King retir'd into his Closet, where he wrote a *Billet doux*, and gave it to his Page, to carry to the Person who was become the Object of his Passion: It was conceiv'd in these terms;

*L*ove reigns in the Hearts of Kings as well as in those of their Subjects, she knows no Power superior to her own; and the greatest Monarchs in the World glory in their Submission to her Empire. You may think it strange, my Dear, that I am affected with the Charms of your Person. I beg of you one hour's Interview, wherein I may shew you the excess of my Affection, &c.

The King, in giving this Billet to the Page, gave him at the same time a rich Diamond, with orders to present it in his Name with the Billet, to the young Virgin. The trusty Page punctually executed his Majesty's Commands. The fair Gascon read the King's tender Billet, and received his Present. As she was of a sprightly Genius, a quality natural to People of that Country, she answer'd the King's amorous Declaration by a Billet which she gave the Page in these terms:

S I R,

*I* Assure you, that if Love reigns over the Hearts of Kings, as it does over those of the least of their Subjects; Virtue, Constancy, and Fidelity reign also amongst Women of mean Birth as well as amongst Queens. I return your Majesty my hearty Thanks for the tender Love that you have conceived for me; and yet more for the Declaration that you have made in the Billet you have been pleas'd to give your self the trouble of Writing to me. Perhaps, Great Prince, if I had been descended from the Blood of Queens and Sovereign Princesses, you would not have regarded me. Sir, as I have already

1701. *sacrificed my Fidelity to a Lover to whom I have promis'd Marriage: I beg your Majesty to dispence with this Interview, which cannot but be fatal to my Vertue.*

*Nevertheless, Sir, I will keep your five Diamond as a precious Token of the Love which it has pleased so great a Monarch to honour me with at a time when I cannot answer him but with Sighs and Regrets.*

The Page returning to Court with this Answer, met the Duke de Beauvilliers upon the Stairs, who ask'd him where he had been, and what he had in his Hand? The Page, confus'd at the Question which the Duke ask'd him, (for whom all the Court had as much deference as for the King himself) made an ingenious Confession of all the secret Intrigue, and deliver'd to him the pretty Gascon's Letter. The Duke having read it, was very angry with the Page for executing such a Commission, and went directly up to the King's Chamber, and gave him the Billet himself, at the same time shewing his Majesty the ill Consequences that such Adventures might draw upon a Prince that was advanc'd upon the Throne, where Wisdom ought to reign as well as the King.

We went from *Bordeaux* to *Bayonne*, where his Majesty and the two Princes staid two days; and were received with all the Magnificence and Honour worthy of their great Dignities. From thence we went to the Isle of *Bidassoa*, a Place celebrated for the Composition of the *Pyrenean Peace*, where the two Princes bid adieu to the King their Brother, which was certainly the most touching that was ever seen. Being arrived in the Isle of *Bidassoa*, the King was oblig'd to embark again, which little Voyage carried him into *Spain*. Here was likewise a small Ship built and adorn'd much like the Royal Structure at *Bordeaux*, which was fitted up on purpose for the reception of his Majesty.

At the Ship's side, just as the King was going on board, he bid adieu to the Princes his Brothers; their tender Embraces, accompanied with their mutual Tears and Regrets, could not but soften the Heart of every Spectator. The Duke of *Noailles* handed his Majesty to the Duke of *Harcourt*, and he conducted

conducted him into the Naval House, where the Duke d'Albe and the Count d'Ajen waited to receive him; he was towed by four Shalops; during his passage the Shoals of People that cover'd the Strand on the Spanish side, as well as those that were throng'd together on the side of France, from whence his Majesty was just then departed, fill'd the Air with shouts and acclamations of Joy. The two Princes continued upon the same spot whereon they had parted with the King their Brother, till they had lost sight of the Naval House, and the Duke de Noailles was return'd.

When we had left the Territories of France, and entred upon those of Spain, it was extremely pleasant, to see the French, who were of the King's retinue, to storm at and curse the condition of the Country they were in, where we were in want of every thing, except what we carried with us. These Gentlemen had been bred at Court, where every thing was in abundance, and a great part of them never had gone out of France, and when they entred into Spain believed they were going to the Conquest of the Golden Fleece, that is, into a Country where were all the Pleasures of Life, where Silver and Gold was glittering on all sides; where they should be receiv'd in their Inns with an unparallel'd Magnificence; where Travellers should be serv'd with Compliments and Civilities, as in France, and have for their Money the daintiest Dishes, and the most delicious Wines: But it is not thus in Spain, I had experienc'd it when I went to Madrid to carry the Project of the Will to Cardinal Portocarrero, so that 'twas no surprize to me. It was a secret Pleasure to me to see the perplexity that all our Gentlemen were in, the greatest part of which were my Friends.

The Spanish Nation is extremely near in their Diet, they need only an Onion, or Clove of Garlick to satisfy them. People of Distinction are never serv'd with two Dishes at one time. Every Man that travels in Spain ought to reckon that when he comes to an Inn it must be one of considerable Note if he finds any other Bed in it than that of the Host. So that he must carry one with him, as Officers do in the Field. When a Man comes to his Inn he gives the

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Victuals, that he brings with him to the Host or the Cook to dress for him; if he brings none with him he is obliged to go forth and buy it where he can find it; the reason of this is, 'tis forbid the Inn-keepers to sell Victuals, from whence the King has great Revenues. The Chimneys are built in the middle of their Kitchens, where you stand to warm your selves on all sides. We were oblig'd to leave the greatest part of our Horse at *Fontarabie*, and to make use of Mules, upon which we march'd with all the gravity of *Spaniards*. Our Cloak bags, according to the Custom of the Country, were carried upon the Pummels of the Saddles, which serv'd instead of Pillows for our Servants to sleep on upon the Road. On each side of the bow of the Saddle, was a great Leather Pouch; in one we put our Victuals, and in the other Bottles of Wine. The Inconveniencies that Travellers meet with in *Spain* upon their Journeys, are owing to the little use that *Spaniards* themselves make of travelling, being prevented by their Grandure and Haughtiness, by their Gravity and Custom of their Country, they are not so curious as to desire to see what passes amongst other Nations, which they scorn; so that when they go out of their Country it is only to possess themselves of some Posts of distinction in the Dominions which are depending upon that Monarchy. There were no Posts or Post-houses for the conveniency of Travellers as we have in *France*, or in other Polite Countries. I remember that when I was sent to *Madrid* with the Project of the Will, I had all imaginable trouble at my entry into *Spain* to get Horses; but it is not so now, the King has appointed Post Stages for the conveniency of Courriers between *Madrid* and *Versailles*, and nothing passes now in either Court but the two Kings are able to inform each other thereof in nine or ten days time. As to their Correspondence by Letters, they use certain Messengers or Courriers, much after the same manner as they do in *England*, which carry them from one Province to another, who are very often made drunk, and robb'd by Highway-Men. The diversity of Carriages, the few Conveniencies that the Road afforded for Travellers, and the numerous Retinue of the King, put me in mind of the Carravans

Carravans that travel the Desarts of *Arabia*, where there are no Refreshments to be had but what are carried with them. It was surprizing to see the People run on all sides to see their new King; they lin'd the Roads throughout all the Country, and fell upon their Knees before their Prince, even in the dirtiest Places, as if God himself had pass'd by. The King, to make 'em tast the sweetness of his new Reign, and insinuate himself into the Love of his People, throw'd handfuls of Money amongst them; this Generosity was particularly recommended to him upon his leaving *Versailles*. Kings seldom give any thing to their Subjects; and when they do, they are always Gifts of little Importance, and those likewise but with expectation of receiving much more from 'em, and to prepare 'em for Slavery.

When we came to *Tartar*, the King received a Courier dispatch'd by the Cardinal *Portocarrero*, who deliver'd into his Majesty's own Hand a Letter from his Eminency conceived in these terms;

S I R,

THIS comes to give your Majesty advice of an Accident, whose Consequences will be fatal to your Reign, if you do not suddenly prevent them. *Father de las Torres*, the late King's Confessor, has reveal'd the secret which we made use of in procuring a Will to be made in your Majesty's favour. That Confessor has indiscreetly declar'd, that the King on his Death-bed had assur'd him, that we had forc'd him to sign a Will, which he should never have consented to if he had follow'd the just Motives of his Conscience. This report being spread abroad, here is a Party form'd, into which several *Grandeess* are entred, and the Queen her self seems to be one amongst them, supported by several Foreign Ministers. An Affair of such great Consequence requires a present Remedy to stop its further Progress. Having held a secret Council hereupon with the Ministers who are affectionately inclin'd to your Majesty, we have unanimously concluded, that it is necessary for your Majesty to write a Letter to the Queen, desiring her to leave *Madrid*,

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*drid*, and to retire into some other Town of *Spain*: As to Father *de las Torres*, and others of his Party, they merit a Chastisement proportionable to their Conduct. We shall expect your Majesty's further Commands, and pray God to preserve your Royal Person. I am, &c.

*Portocarrero.*

The King was extremely surpriz'd at the reading of this Letter, and made no scruple to follow the Cardinal's advice. His Majesty immediately writ the following Letter to the Queen.

*My dear Sister and Aunt.*

THE repeated Assurances that your Majesty has given me of your Affection, give me no room to doubt thereof. I understand nevertheless by Advices which I have received, that some certain Persons endeavour by diverse means to interrupt the good Intelligence that I have always desired to preserve with your Majesty. I shall be particularly careful in examining into the truth of this Advice, and till I am able to discover the contrary, I find it necessary for your Majesty's Repose, that you choose for your abode some Town of *Spain* which you your self shall best approve of amongst those that shall be propos'd to you on my part. I shall give Orders that your Majesty be treated with all the Respect and Reverence due to so great a Queen; and that the Sums order'd for your Dowry by the Will of the deceased King, my Uncle, be punctually paid you. I could have wish'd that I might have been able in Person to testify my Affection to you, but I find it more agreeable to the present state of Affairs to remit it to time, and my applications to justify the Truth in your Majesty's absence; in the mean time your Majesty ought to believe that I am

*Your Majesty's*

*Good Brother and Nephew.*

PHILIP.

This

This Letter came to *Madrid* the 18th of *January*. The Regency sent it immediately to the Queen, and propos'd to her at the same time the Towns of *Granada*, *Valencia*, *Cordova* and *Talavera* for her residence, leaving it to her self to make choice of one of these, ordering her to leave *Madrid* within six days. This afflicted Princess answer'd, that she should glory in obeying their Orders; but that it was impossible for her to depart in so short a time. She added, That Banishment it self was as desirable to her as any of these Towns which they had propos'd. The Regency, willing to shew a little Complaisance to a Princess that had always been cherish'd by the People, prolong'd the time of her departure, and propos'd two other Towns out of which she might choose her Residence. She, at last, resolv'd upon *Toledo*; she left the Court, and lodg'd at the Duke of *Monteleon's* Palace. Her Majesty spent the rest of her time, whilst she remain'd at *Madrid*, in consoling her self in her Adversity, by Devotions and Prayers.

She visit'd the Churches, and made a pious Sacrifice of part of her Jewels to the Pictures of *Notre Dame de bon Secours*, *Notre Dame d'Atôche*, *Notre Dame de Belen*, and *St. Isidore* Patron of *Madrid*, which had been all expos'd in the Royal Palace during the sickness of the King her Spouse. The time which had been prescrib'd to her Majesty being expir'd, the Regency went in a Body to the Palace of *Monteleon* to make their Compliments to the Queen, and wish her a good Journey. The next day, which was the second of *February*, the *Grandeess* came also to wait upon that Princess to take their leaves, many of 'em, who were of her Party, reflecting upon that manner of Treatment, could not forbear shedding Tears upon this Occasion. They esteem'd this rigorous Administration as an omen which presag'd no good to the new Reign, which began with prescribing an Exile to the chief Person of the Court. To be short, the Queen, after all these adieu's, went for *Toledo*; and, to increase her Affliction, the Palace of the Cardinal *Portocarrero*, her mortal Enemy, was assign'd her for her abode; that her Conduct being narrowly observ'd she might do nothing contrary to the new King's Interest.

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1791. She was followed by the Elector Palatine's Envoy, who had receiv'd Orders to retire from Court, as also the Count d' *Aversberg*, his Imperial Majesty's Envoy, who retir'd to *Carmanchel*, a Place half a League from *Madrid*. The disgrace of this Princess was follow'd with that of Don *Balthazar de Mendoca*, Inquisitor-General, who was confin'd to his Bishoprick of *Sagovia*; and likewise that of Father *de las Torres*, the late King's Confessor, who had Orders to retire into his Convent.

We arriv'd the 28th of *February* at *Madrid*; the King alighted from his Coach at *Notre-Dame d' Atoche* there to make his Devotions; a regard to Piety, the Churches, the Saints, and the Chappels which are Consecrated to them in *Spain*, had been recommended to the young King at his leaving *France* as a Fundamental Law, as well to conform himself to that ardent Zeal, which his Predecessors, the Kings of *Spain* have always shewn for Religion, as to obtain the Affection of the People. After these first Duties, his Majesty went to the Palace of *Buen Retiro*. The Marquess de *Leganes*, Captain of the Castle, went to meet his Majesty in the Garden of the Brazen Horse, and presented him the Keys. The Cardinal *Portocarrero* waited at the bottom of the Stairs, where he received his Majesty kneeling, and kiss'd his Hand: That Monarch rais'd him, and gave him all possible Marks of his Affection; he embrac'd him and made him a Compliment which express'd the great Obligations that he lay under to his Eminency. His Majesty then entred into the Chamber where the *Grandeess* waited for him; they, in their Turns, kiss'd the King's Hand, and pass'd as it were in review before the new King, the Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and the Duke d' *Harcourt*, stood behind the Chair of State, whereon his Majesty sat, and nam'd them that they might be known to his Majesty. From that Hall the King went into another, where the Sons and Brothers of the *Grandeess*, and other Lords of the first Distinction partook also of the Honour of kissing the King's Hand. Supper time being come his Majesty eat in private in a Gallery, where the *Grandeess* alone, and the Cardinal who bless'd the Supper, were present.

The

The remainder of the Evening was spent in Illuminations and Fireworks which were made before the King's Palace, and in all manner of publick Rejoycings. The People, by their eagerness to see the new King, testified the great hopes that they had of his happy Reign: But as these kinds of Shows are always attended with some ill Accidents, a great number of Persons became Victims to their Curiosity; for amidst so great a throng some were crush'd to Death, and others stifled. The King, sensibly affected with the Misfortunes that had happen'd upon this Occasion, forgot not the Instructions that were given him at the Court of *France*; he bestow'd Gifts upon the Parents of those that were dead, and gave Sums of Money to have Masses said for the repose of their Souls.

The following days pass'd in pompous Addresses, and flattering Harangues, sent from all parts to Congratulate the new King upon his happy Accession to the Throne. I cannot forbear relating a pleasant Compliment, that a certain *Spaniard*, who arriv'd at *Madrid* two days after the King, made to his Majesty upon this Occasion. This Person had taught several Rats to dance upon a Rope: He was a Man of a very singular Character, his Person was large and well grown; he was an extraordinary Mimick, and very facetious, laugh'd at every Word he spoke: According to this last Character, he might rather be thought a *Frenchman* than a *Spaniard*, for *Spaniards* are naturally haughty, grave, and serious. His Coat was made of all sorts of Colours, like to that of *Harlequin*. He was carried at *Madrid* in a Chair by two Porters, according to the Mode of *Paris*. Before and behind the Chair was fix'd a Pole, having at one end a Flag representing on one side his Rats dancing upon a Cord, and on the other a kind of Poison which he call'd *Death to the Rats*; he sold it in Packets at a great price. He came to Court in this Equipage and desired to speak with the King. His Majesty, upon the Character that was given of the *Spaniard*, order'd him to be brought in; at his entrance he made several comical Bows: His Majesty being then accompanied with several *Grandees* of *Spain*, and the Princip-

1701. pal Ministers, the Adventurer made his Compliment to the King in the *Spanish* Tongue, of which this is the Translation. ' Sir, says he, I come to present your Majesty with a new Wonder unknown to the World even to this day: It shews the excellency of the Nation that has chosen you for their King. Admire, Sir, this Wonder, since it is the most famous of all Shows, and remember, Sir, that your Majesty altho' the greatest of Kings, has never seen any thing so surprising, as my Rats who dance upon a Rope. After this Address, he took a Cage from one of his Porters, wherein the Rats were, and being come to a Table he extended a Cord, upon which he made 'em dance to the Flagelet with so much exactness and cadency that the King was truly charm'd thereat, as well as all the Court. I was there and must confess, that I have never seen any thing so remarkable. These sort of Animals 'tis very well known are very fearful, and put to flight at the least noise; but yet our *Spaniard* had made them so tame and familiar that there was no Ape would dance upon the Rope with more Boldness and Assurance. There were six of 'em that danc'd in their turn all sorts of *Spanish* Dances: He had cut off their Tails which are what makes 'em the more ugly, put Pendants in their Ears, and put on Necklaces adorn'd with Ribbons of various Colours. The King, after this Diversion, would have made the *Spaniard* a Present of 50 Pistoles, but he generously refus'd it, and told his Majesty, that he only begg'd one favour. The King ask'd him what he desired? Sir, says he, I pray your Majesty to give me leave to show the dancing of my Rats at *Madrid*; the King smil'd, and told him that he granted it. The *Spaniard* being gone out of the Court, got this Inscription to be writ upon a Board in Letters of Gold, which he plac'd over the outmost Gate, *I have shew'd my Rats dancing upon the Rope before the new King.* The Novelty of this Sight, and this Writing, so much excited the curiosity of the People, that all *Madrid* throng'd to see it. A Bull Feast was never frequented by a greater Number of People, they paid for the Sight half a Real, which is about half a *French* Crown. One of the King's

*French*

*French* Guards one day took with him a Cat under his Cloak to the Show ; as soon as the Rats appear'd upon the Cord, he lets fall his Cat ; the Rats, affrighted at the sight of their mortal Enemy, immediately took flight, and seeking Azill under the Women's Petticoats, it was a singular Pleasure to see the hurry and confusion that the Women were in on one side, and on the other, the despair that the *Spaniard* conceived in losing in a moment that which was dearest to him in the World. At last the Cat was seized, the Soldier challeng'd with the Fact ; but he wisely denied it. The *Spaniard* having again got together his little Animals secur'd 'em for that time in their Cage for fear of the like Accident. This Man made a great Fortune at *Madrid*.

These publick Rejoycings did not hinder the King of *Spain* and his Ministers from daily deliberating upon the Affairs of the Kingdom. The Most Christian King gave the young Monarch his Grandson, at his parting from *Versailles*, a Plan or Project, by which he should govern himself. His Catholick Majesty having given this Project to the Duke of *Harcourt*, he communicated it to Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and Don *Manuel d' Arias*, Governour of the Council of *Castile*. These two Ministers were the Directors of all the Affairs of the Crown, and nothing was done but by their Administration. They had frequent Conferences with the Duke d' *Harcourt* ; but as he was oblig'd to be very often attending upon the King to instruct him in several Particulars relating to the Ceremonies of the Court, being very well acquainted therewith by his long residence there, he desired that I should assist in his absence at the Conferences that were held between the Cardinal and Don *Manuel d' Arias*. The Correspondence that I had with his Eminency relating to the Project of the Will, had already made me known to him, and had at the same time gain'd me his Esteem ; besides that, I had an Advantage above others of the *French* Nation that follow'd the new King, which was, that I spoke so well the *Spanish* Tongue. The Cardinal himself signified to the King, that he was very willing that I should enter into the Negotiation of Affairs, and applauded the choice that  
the

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the Duke had made, he judg'd me further capable by the Services that I had already done to the Court of *France* in the many Foreign Negotiations that I had been employ'd in.

The Project that we first wrought upon was the re-uniting the Revenues that had been alienated from the Crown of *Spain*; redressing the shattered state of the Finances; the secret of filling the King's exhausted Coffers; retrenching of Pensions; suppressing all unnecessary Charges; the Re-establishment of the Armies, both by Sea and Land, and, in fine, every thing that might contribute to give a new Lustre and a new Face to the Monarchy, to carry it to that degree of Glory that it has formerly been at. This Project prescrib'd all the Methods that the Farmers of the King of *France*'s Revenues had used to augment them, and tended to introduce in *Spain* the same Form of Government that has been administred in *France*. I have heard the Cardinal tell the Duke d' *Harcourt* upon this Subject, *That since he had contributed much to the procuring of the Crown of Spain for the Duke of Anjou, he desired, that that Prince should wear it with as much Splendor and Glory as the Most Christian King did the Crown of France, and that to make a just Parallel of the two Monarchies, they ought to be both establish'd by the same Fundamentals, the same Laws, the same Maxims, and, in fine, the same Art of Governing.*

The Duke d' *Harcourt* answer'd his Eminency, That he was likely to acquire as much Glory in *Spain* in recovering so powerful a Monarchy, as the Cardinals de *Kichlien* and *Mazarin* had acquired in *France* under the two last Reigns.

The Cardinal, that he might justly merit these Encomiums, besides what he had done for the Advancement of the Duke of *Anjou*, upon the Throne of *Spain*, was willing yet to give a new Lustre to that Prince's Crown: For that End his Eminency drew up a Declaration, which was consented to, and afterwards publish'd in *France*, and register'd by the Parliament of *Paris*; by which the King of *Spain* and his Male Children conserv'd the Right of succeeding to the Crown of *France*, which was contrary to the tenour of the Will, which prohibited the Union

of

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of the two Monarchies. Besides that, his Eminency perswaded the Council of *Spain* to pray the Most Christian King, that the Duke *d' Harcourt*, and such other *French* Ministers that his Most Christian Majesty would please to name, might assist in their Council.

But to return to the Project we were to act upon. We begun with a great Reformation of the Expence of the Court and Government; we reduc'd the forty-two Gentlemen of the Chamber to six: The Chamber of the *Indies* was broken and incorporated in the Council of the *Indies*: The Council of the Finances was reform'd, and the Management was left to seven Persons. The Decree, by which the late King had order'd, that the Ministers and Officers which depended upon the Tribunals should enjoy their Pensions, was suspended. 'Twas declar'd that all Recompences above 300 Ducats should be reduc'd to a moiety. The Admirante of *Castile* was depriv'd of the great trust of being Generalissimo both by Sea and Land, and also of his Pension. The Count *d' Aquilar* was depriv'd of the Revenues that he drew from his Post of being General of the Seas. We made choise of Creatures devoted to the new Government, to fill the most important Posts of the Kingdom, the Governments of the *Indies*, and other Dominions depending upon the Monarchy of *Spain*. We remov'd those Persons that were zealous for the Ancient Government from their Employ, and reputed them as Men suspected, or ill affected to the Court. We made, in fine, a General Revolution of all Affairs. Who would have thought that a Nation that had always been an Enemy to the Crown of *France*, would ever have paid so respectful an Homage to it, and have chosen that Court for a disposer of its Destiny. I cannot forbear relating the flattering Speech which the Constable of *Castile* made to the Most Christian King upon that Subject in his famous Embassy to the Court of *France*. The King being sitting and cover'd when that Ambassador entred into the Hall of Audience, his Majesty arose from his Chair as soon as he saw him, and at the same time uncover'd, and afterwards covering again; the Constable, after he had saluted the King, cover'd also, and made him this Harangue. S I R.

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S I R,

I present my self to your Majesty by the King my Master's Order; and the Acknowledgments that he testifies to your Majesty for being what he is, will better appear by the Letter that he hath writ to your Majesty, than from any thing that I am able to say on his Part. This is the Letter which I now deliver into your Majesty's Royal Hands. The Junro form'd at the Death of King Charles II. my Master, who is in Glory, hath chosen me to come and testify, with a profound Respect to your Majesty, on the part of the Kingdoms, the Government and the People which compose the Spanish Monarchy, how they have all applauded the wise and prudent Disposition of the deceased King, in favour of the King my Master, your Majesty's Grandson. They all, with a Respect full of Acknowledgment, Thank, and in the transports of their Minds, Congratulate your Majesty in seeing the Throne of Spain possist by a Prince so nearly related to your Majesty: They promise themselves from hence, most happy Consequences both in Church and State. This Letter will tell your Majesty the same: and I must add thereto, that 'tis to your Majesty we acknowledge the Obligation that we lie under for the precious Gift which you have made us of a Prince who is so excellently virtuous; and we shall always testify with Hearts full of Respect and Love, the Bounty which your Majesty hath bestow'd upon us, which we beg your Majesty always to continue to us; and we, our selves shall endeavour to obtain it by means most suitable to the Honour that you do us. Having the Happiness to see my self at your Majesty's Feet, who, by your Munificence honour me with these Favours and Distinctions, which I am proud of receiving; I must declare my self ready to sacrifice me and my House for your Majesty.

The King's Answer to Monsieur the Constable  
of Castile.

YOU may be sure, Sir, that I receive the Compliments of the King my Grandson with abundance

' abundance of Pleasure ; and the Acknowledgments 1701.  
 ' that you testifie in the behalf of the Kingdoms  
 ' and Estates which compose the Monarchy of *Spain*,  
 ' with abundance of Satisfaction. They could not  
 ' choose upon this Occasion a Person more agreeable  
 ' to me than your self. You see at present both  
 ' Nations so united that two are in a manner be-  
 ' come one. For my own part, I am as good a  
 ' *Spaniard* as any in the World, and if the King my  
 ' Grandson requires my Counsel, I will never give  
 ' him any but what shall be for the Glory and In-  
 ' terest of *Spain*. My Grandson will shew himself  
 ' at the Head of the *Spaniards* to defend *France*, and  
 ' I will shew my self at the Head of the *French*  
 ' to defend *Spain*. And as to your self, Sir, you can-  
 ' not but observe since you have been at my Court  
 ' the Distinction that I have made of your Person ;  
 ' and the Joy that my Subjects shew to see you here,  
 ' is a token that they know how much I esteem you,  
 ' and how much I love the *Spaniards*.

Whilst we were regulating Affairs in *Spain*, Prince  
*Eugene* and Marshal *Catinat* open'd the Theatre of  
 War in *Italy* : The first Commanded in chief a  
 powerful Army that the Emperor sent thither. The  
 second, the Army of the two Crowns. The entrance  
 of the Imperialists into *Italy*, which was judg'd im-  
 practicable, extreamly surpriz'd the two Courts, and  
 it was look'd upon as a Prodigy ; the Glory of  
 which was attributed to the Conduct and Bravery  
 of Prince *Eugene*. The Court of *France*, solicitous  
 about every thing that might contribute to the de-  
 fence of the new King's Dominions, and his Estab-  
 lishment upon the Throne, call'd into their Assis-  
 tance two Important Alliances, the Duke of *Savoy*,  
 and the King of *Portugal* : The first was effected by  
 the Marriage of *Maria Louise Gabrielle* of *Savoy*,  
 his Royal Highness's second Daughter with *Philip V.*  
 King of *Spain* ; the Marriage of the eldest Daugh-  
 ter to the Duke of *Burgundy* had procur'd a Peace  
 between *France* and his Highness the last War ;  
 and 'twas believ'd that the Marriage of that Prin-  
 cess's Sister to King *Philip* would secure the Domi-

1701. nions in *Italy* depending upon the Crown of *Spain*. The Advantages that were expected from an Alliance with *Portugal* were not of less importance since they would stop the entry of the Enemies Fleets into the *Mediterranean*, and secure the Repose and Tranquillity of *Spain*. In fine, the Marriage of the Princess of *Savoy* with King *Philip V.* was declar'd at the Court of *Turin* the 5th of *June*, and the new King's Envoy demanded her by a Letter which he deliver'd the same day to his Royal Highness. If the particular Interests of the Duke of *Savoy* were the chief Motives of this Marriage, yet the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* contributed much thereto by the Encomiums that she made at the *French* Court, of all the fine Qualities of the young Princess her Sister. This Princess was in the flower of her Youth, nor exceeding thirteen years of Age. The Ceremony of Marriage was then celebrated, and she went by Sea to *Barcelona*, where the Catholick King her Spouse came to meet her. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had kept his Treaty with the two Crowns in suspense till the Marriage of his Daughter was publickly declar'd at *Madrid*, put his Troops now upon their March, and in a little time joined the *French* and *Spanish* Army, where he was to command in chief.

The Most Christian King, who had flatter'd himself with the hopes of avoiding the War, by means of the Intrigues that his Ambassadors made use of in all the Courts they were sent to, seeing already the Motions that the Imperial Army made in *Italy*, resolv'd to prepare for the War on all sides, and begin it with the least Disadvantages that were possible. As the presence of a Prince attracts the Love of his People in the beginning of his Reign, his Majesty thought it proper, that the King of *Spain*, his Grandson, should go into *Italy*. That young Prince, after having us'd his first Endeavours to redress the Affairs of the Government of *Spain*, upon the Project that the Court of *France* had given him, which I have already cited, began to prepare for his Journey. I shall here give you the Letter that the King of *France* writ to him upon that Subject, and the Decree that the King of *Spain* made upon his Journey

Journey to *Naples*, and the Letter that his Catholick Majesty wrote to the Marquess of *Bedmar*. 1702.

A Letter from the Most Christian King to his Catholick Majesty writ from *Marly* the 22d of *January*, 1702.

*Dear Brother and Grandson,*

I Have always approv'd of your Design of going into *Italy*, and wish that you would execute it; the more I concern my self for your Glory, the more I ought to consider the difficulties that lie before you, which 'tis probable I may better foresee than you; I have examin'd them all, and you have seen them in the Memoir that *Marcin* has read to you; 'tis with Pleasure that I find your Resolutions not started from a Project so worthy of your Blood, as that of going in Person to defend your Estates in *Italy*: It is but reasonable, that the Person principally concern'd should dispose of himself in such an Affair; and since the Inconveniencies that have been represented you have not been sufficient to prevail upon you, I commend your Stedfastness, and I confirm your Decision; you will be more beloved by your Subjects, and they will be yet more faithful to you when they see that you answer the Opinion they had of you; and that far from lying in Repose as your Predecessors have done, you expose your Person to defend the most considerable parts of your Monarchy; and my Affection to you encreasing, according to the progress of your Merits, you may depend upon never seeing me forgetful of any thing that may contribute to your Advantage. You know what Efforts I have made to drive your Enemies out of *Italy*. If the Troops that are design'd for the Dutchy of *Milain* were arrived there, I should advise you to go thither, and put your self at the Head of my Army; but as it ought to be superior to that of the Enemy, I believe your Majesty would do better to go to *Naples*, where your presence is at this time more necessary than at *Milan*; you will wait in that Kingdom till the Campaign begin; you will appease the Tu-

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mult of the People, who fervently desire to see their new King.

Greet the Nobility well ; give the People Hopes of being discharged from their Taxes, as soon as Affairs will permit ; hear their Complaints ; do Justice ; shew your self Indulgent, without losing any thing of your Dignity. Distinguish those that have signaliz'd their Zeal for you in the last Commotions. You will soon discover the Advantages of your Journey, and the good effects that your Presence will produce. I will cause four Men of War to be made ready at *Thoulon*, and go from thence to *Barcelona* to wait upon you and the Queen to *Naples*. I foresee that your Affection to her will not permit you to part with her. *Marcin* will inform you of the Troops that I send to *Naples*, and of other Matters that I have instructed him in, relating to your Passage. God, who has visibly protected you, blest the Justice of your Cause ; and, I hope, that after having call'd you to the Throne, he will assist you in the defence of those Dominions, whose Government he has put into your Hands. I beg him to blest the Designs that you have form'd, to his own Glory. Nothing now remains but that I assure you of my Tenderness and Affection for you, and the Pleasure that I have in seeing you every day more and more to merit it.

L O V I S.

The King of Spain's Decree made the 2d of February, 1702, upon his Journey to *Naples*, directed to the Governour of the Council.

THE pressing Necessities of *Naples* and *Milan* seem to be of so great Consequence, that I cannot be easie till I have appeas'd the ardent desire that I have, to let my Kingdoms and Subjects see, that the love which I have for them engages me not to spare my own Person, but expose it to the greatest dangers for their defence. I have, to that End resolv'd, with the Approbation of the Most Christian King, my Lord and Grandfather to go to the Kingdom of *Naples* the next Month, under the Convoy

' Convoy of four Ships that he has order'd to be fitted  
 ' up at *Thoulon* for that purpose; to the End that my  
 ' presence and my Troops which are gone thither,  
 ' those that are preparing for their passage thither,  
 ' and those that the King my Grandfather will send  
 ' thither before my arrival, may calm their Minds,  
 ' and hinder by their Arms the entrance of the Ene-  
 ' my. I have further resolved, after the Repose of  
 ' *Naples* is settled, to go to the Army which is in the  
 ' *Milaneze*, and put my self at the Head of those  
 ' Troops which defend it. I know my chief Oblig-  
 ' gation is to see personally what passes in these two  
 ' Estates upon an Occasion of so great a Consequence  
 ' as this is, which will be readily consented to by my  
 ' Council: I thought proper in return to their Zeal  
 ' and good Intentions for me to let them know my  
 ' Resolutions; and to the End that during my absence  
 ' the Kingdoms of *Spain* may be govern'd by a wise  
 ' and experienc'd Ministry that will maintain Justice,  
 ' Respect, and expeditiously dispatch such Affairs that  
 ' shall come before 'em; I shall name a Junto, in  
 ' which Cardinal *Portocarrero*, Archbishop of *Toledo*,  
 ' shall have the same Powers and Prerogatives as the  
 ' Queen my Aunt has had in that which has been  
 ' establish'd by the Disposition of the King my Uncle,  
 ' the Governour of the Council, the Presidents of  
 ' *Aragon*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, and the *Indies*, with the  
 ' Marquess de *Villa Franca*, my high Steward, shall  
 ' manage Affairs in such Form as I shall direct 'em.  
 ' And because the Queen cannot without trouble per-  
 ' swade her self to part with me upon this Voyage,  
 ' I have given her the Satisfaction to go with me as  
 ' far as *Naples*; all which I advise my Council of,

*Barcelona* the 2d of  
 February, 1702.

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The King of Spain's Letter to his Excellency the Marquess of Bedmar, Commander General of the Low-Countries.

To the Marquess of Bedmar, my Cousin, Gentleman of my Chamber, Commander General of our Low Countries in Flanders.

HAVING now a favourable Time and Opportunity, to defend in Person my Kingdom, and my Subjects as I ought to do; I have resolv'd to go into Italy in the Month of March next, under the Convoy of a Squadron of the Most Christian King my Lord and Grandfather's Ships, which is now by his Order fitting up for that End, in his Port of *Thoulon*. My Intention is to go first to *Naples*, to console and favour my Subjects of that Kingdom, to put them, by the Troops that I have sent thither, those that are now upon their March, and those which the King my Grandfather has sent thither, out of all fear of the approach of the Enemies Armies. I shall go afterwards to *Milan*, and put myself at the Head of the Army. I shall omit nothing that I am able to contribute towards the Peace and Tranquility of *Italy*, the Union of its Princes, and the Conservation of their Sovereignities and Repose. This is what I was desirous of giving you advice of.

*Banclona* the 5th of

February, 1701-2. I the King.

and lower,

*Don Antonio de Ubilla y Medina.*

The King's going out of *Spain* nevertheless caus'd the Grantees and the People to murmur. The *Spaniards*, always accusom'd to see their King in the Heart of their Monarchy, could not prevail with themselves to consent to his leaving of them. They gave for reasons, that the King's Reign was yet wavering and unsettled; and that they should become a Prey to their Enemies: That they should infallibly be expos'd to Civil Wars and Revolutions: That the scarcity of Money

Money rendred the Kingdom unable to defray the immense Charge of the Court, and the Officers that would attend his Majesty into *Italy*. But as the new Monarch reign'd exactly according to the Plan that the Most Christian King had given him, he little concern'd himself at the Dissatisfaction of the People. But however, that he might not wholly disoblige 'em, he resolv'd at last to leave the Queen his Spouse at *Madrid*, and to put into Cardinal *Portocarrero's* Hands the Reins of the Government, and the Management of all the Affairs of the Monarchy. He writ to his Eminency a Letter upon that Subject, of which this is the Copy ;

*My Cousin,*

I Have received your Letter, and take in good part all that you signifie to me therein, as well relating to my Journey, as what you write concerning the Queen; and I cannot give you a better proof thereof than by committing that Violence upon my self to part with her, and leave her to return to *Madrid*, for the Satisfaction of my People, which you assure me so much desire it. It is the greatest sacrifice that I am able to make, and I hope, that they will think from thence that I have a greater regard to their Satisfaction than to my own. I believe it unnecessary to recommend her to you: The Affection that you have shewn me is a sufficient Earnest of your Care of her. I believe it is as unnecessary to recommend to you the Care of my Affairs, during my absence; for your Zeal is sufficiently known to me, and the Confidence I repose in you is without reserve. I know the present State of Affairs will not permit you to make any great efforts to assist me: I reckon that my own good Husbandry will be the greatest Resource. Cause, however, that what can be furnish'd may be paid regularly, and that my House, which is but very small, as well as that of the Queen be paid punctually.

I don't require any extraordinary Expence, only what may be done conveniently, without burthening my People: But I am sure you will do all that's possible, and that will content me.

M 4 I

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‘ I don’t doubt but my other Ministers will second  
 ‘ your Zeal and good Intentions ; and that whilst I  
 ‘ am offering to shed my Blood, even to the last drop,  
 ‘ if it is necessary, to hinder the Dismembring of the  
 ‘ Monarchy ; and am making the most vigorous Ef-  
 ‘ forts to advance the Glory of the *Spanish* Nation to  
 ‘ the highest pitch that possibly I can ; do you act in  
 ‘ concert with me, by maintaining Tranquillity in  
 ‘ the Kingdom, a thing of the greatest Necessity. I  
 ‘ recommend to you above all to take care of the de-  
 ‘ fence of the Coasts, and the security of *Madrid*.

‘ As to what remains, I desire no more Dissuasions  
 ‘ from my Voyage to *Italy*. I have resolv’d upon it :  
 ‘ It is an Enterprize too reasonable, glorious and ne-  
 ‘ cessary to recede from. Let there be ordered at  
 ‘ *Madrid*, as well as through all *Spain*, that Publick  
 ‘ Prayers be offer’d up for my Person, and for the  
 ‘ Prosperity of my Arms, that it may please God to  
 ‘ protect the Justice of my Cause, and preserve my  
 ‘ Dominions from the Invasion of Hereticks, who  
 ‘ are confederated against me.

‘ This is, my Cousin, all that I have to signifie  
 ‘ to you ; what remains is, that I assure you of the  
 ‘ Esteem that I have for you, as well as the Affection  
 ‘ that you merit more and more by all the Services  
 ‘ that you do me.

Sign’d,

P H I L I P.

The King of *Spain*, after he had regulated all the  
 Affairs relating to the assembling the States of *Catalo-*  
*nia*, and had received from them a gratuity of 300000  
 Crowns, and a Present of 50000 Crowns from the  
 Town of *Barcelona*, set sail with the Ships that the  
 Most Christian King had sent him from *Thoulon*, ar-  
 rived at *Baya* on *Easter-day*, and made the next day  
 his entry into the City of *Naples*.

A few days before his Catholick Majesty’s departure  
 I received a Letter from Monsieur *Chamillard*, by  
 which that Minister order’d me to return to the Court  
 of *France*. I took post soon after for *Versailles*, and  
 as soon as I arriv’d there, went to wait upon Monsieur  
*Chamillard*. When I came into his Apartment, I

found

found upon the Table Three Declarations of War 1702.  
 against the King's of *France* and *Spain*; they were all  
 made Publick at the same time, and were dated the  
 15th of *May*, 1702. The Powers that had declar'd  
 War were the Emperor, the Queen of *England*, and  
 the States General of the United Provinces. The  
 Emperor's Declaration contain'd in Substance.

T H A T the King of *France*, since the Conclusion  
 of the Peace of *Reswick*, had sufficiently made  
 appear by his Conduct, that it was not his Design  
 to maintain the last Treaty of Peace, any more  
 than he done those that had preceded it: That ne-  
 vertheless, to prevent the effusion of Blood, and  
 to avoid an open Rupture by new Disputes, his  
 Imperial Majesty had chosen much rather to bear  
 patiently all these Provocations, and seek means  
 to terminate them amicably. But as immediately  
 after the Death of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*, and  
 Duke of *Austria*, under pretence of a Will sup-  
 posed to be made by that Prince, which is in reality  
 void, and of no effect; the King of *France*, not-  
 withstanding all the Contracts of Marriage, Re-  
 nuntiations, Cessions, Treaties of Peace, and Oaths  
 which he hath taken, has seiz'd upon all the King-  
 doms and Lands which belong'd to the deceas'd  
 King of *Spain*, amongst which are those that be-  
 long'd to his Arch-ducal House before he came to  
 that Crown, and others that depend upon the Em-  
 pire, which he has also seiz'd, and introduc'd there-  
 in the Duke of *Anjou* his Grandson; and besides all  
 this, has not only seiz'd by Force upon the Dutchy  
 of *Mantua*, and other Fiefs of the Empire, altho'  
 they have never belonged to the Monarchy of *Spain*,  
 but has also caus'd his Troops to enter into the Dio-  
 ceses of *Cologne* and *Liege*, and is become Master of all  
 the Towns and strong Places belonging to it; and  
 has laid up Magazines therein: and has likewise,  
 contrary to the Ordinances and Constitution of the  
 Empire, impos'd Laws upon the Princes, Directors  
 of the Circles, attack'd them; supported by his  
 Arms the Elector of *Cologne* in his Disobedience;  
 Imprison'd the faithful Subjects of the Empire, as  
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the Baron of *Meun*, Dean of *Liege*, and seiz'd upon some others within the Dominions of the Empire: That his Grandson the Duke of *Anjou* had even taken upon him Titles that belong'd to the Arch-ducal House, causing himself to be call'd Arch-duke of *Austria*, Count of *Habsbourg*, *Tirol*, &c. That it was certain, that the said Will, which serv'd at this time for a specious pretext to the Hostilities of *France*, had been made by some corrupted *Spanish* Councillors, according to the Directions of the King of *France*. That it was presented to the Catholick King when he laboured under the Infirmities both of Body and Mind, and was neither able to read it, or hear it read, much less to deliberate upon, as he ought, the Contents of the said Will.

The Queen of *England's* Declaration of War was conceiv'd in these Terms;

FORasmuch as it has pleas'd God to call us to the Government of these Kingdoms, at a time, when our deceased dear Brother *William III.* of Glorious Memory, was entred in pursuance of the repeated advice of the Parliament of this Kingdom, into solemn Treaties of Alliance with the Emperor of *Germany*, the States General of the United Provinces, and other Princes and Potentates, to preserve the Liberty and Balance of *Europe*, and to abate the exorbitant Power of *France*; which Treaties are founded upon the unjust Usurpations of the King of *France*, who has seiz'd and keeps yet in possession a great part of the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, exercising an absolute Authority over all that Monarchy: who has possess'd himself of the *Milanese* and the *Spanish Low Countries* with his Armies; is become Master of *Cadiz*, and the entry into the *Mediterranean*, and of all the Ports of *Spain* in the *Indies*, by means of his Fleets, with a Design to invade every where the Liberties of *Europe*, and to obstruct the liberty of Navigation and Commerce. And it being agreed to by the 3d and 4th Articles of the Alliance before mentioned, that if in the space of two Months (which are ex-

pir'd some time since) the Injuries complain'd of should not be redrest, the Parties concern'd therein should mutually assist each other with all their Force: And as the King of *France*, instead of giving that Satisfaction which was justly expected from him, hath not only committed new Violences, but hath added thereto a great Affront and Indignity towards us and our Kingdoms, in expressly declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales* King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and has also induc'd *Spain* to concur with him in the said Affront and Indignity, as well as in the other Oppressions. We find ourselves oblig'd to maintain the publick Faith, to vindicate the Honour of our Crown, and to prevent the Misfortunes that all *Europe* is threatned with, to declare, and we do by these Presents declare War against *France* and *Spain*: And as we depend intirely and place all our Confidence and Assistance in Almighty God in an Enterprize so just and so necessary as this is; We will pursue the said War vigorously in concert with our Allies, both by Sea and Land; assuring our selves that our Subjects will concur with us, and assist us chearfully in a cause that they have so openly and so cordially espoused.

The Declaration of War, of the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces contain'd in Substance;

That the King of *France* having cast his Eyes upon their Provinces, either to make himself Master of, or ruin 'em, had attack'd them with two bloody Wars (*viz.*) those of the Years 1672, and 1688; although on their side they had used all possible means to avoid those Ruptures. That the Ends of the King of *France* thereby were, to open himself a way to the Universal Monarchy, or at least, after having separated them from their Allies, to reduce them to so weak a State that they would have been in danger of seeing themselves soon enslaved, and losing those precious Pledges, (*viz.*) their Liberty and Religion, which had cost their Subjects so dear, and for which they had sustain'd a War

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War against the Powers of the Kings of *Spain* for Eighty Years together: That Providence, which govern'd all things had not permitted the King of *France* to execute his Ambitious Designs; but on the contrary, having blest the Arms of that State, and of her Allies, those Wars were terminated with a general Peace in the Years 1678 and 1697, and by this last Peace, the same King of *France* had been oblig'd to restore to the Emperor and to the King of *Spain*, the Provinces, Countries and Towns which he was become Master of, contrary to the Peace of *Nimeguen*, under the name of *Re-union*, or any other specious pretences. That Experience shew'd them, that the King of *France* had no other End in making the Peace of *Reswick*, than that of inducing them and their Allies to lay down their Arms to disunite them from each other, and afterwards ruin the Correspondence that was betwixt them; witness what pass'd upon the Subject of *Tarriff*, promis'd by the Treaty of *Reswick*, which was publickly refus'd them, and they were oblig'd to accept in lieu thereof some thing much more Disadvantageous to them. That upon the repeated Protestations that the King of *France* had made of the sincerity of his Intentions for the Conservation of Peace, there was a solemn Treaty made, by which means the too great Power that the said King of *France* would arrive to by his Possession of the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, after the decease of King *Charles II.* might be on one side prevented; and on the other side, Satisfaction might be made to those that aspir'd to the said Succession. But the said Treaty was no sooner concluded and ratified, but his Most Christian Majesty thought no more of observing it: but, on the contrary, used all sorts of Artifices at the Court of *Spain*, to render the Emperor odious there, and engage the King of *Spain* to make a Will in favour of one of the Infants of *France*. That whilst these things were transacting that Prince died, and there was a Will immediately brought to light, by which the Duke of *Anjou* was appointed Heir to all those Kingdoms and Dominions: That the said Will was no sooner made

Publick,

Publick, but the King of *France* gave proofs of his boundless Ambition; for without any regard to the Treaty of Partition, so solemnly and so lately made, he accepted the Will, and rejected the said Treaty of Partition, without giving the least notice thereof to those with whom he had engag'd himself; contenting himself to alledge only for the Justification of his Conduct, that they ought to have a regard to the *Spirit or Sense*, and not to the *Terms or Words of the Treaty*, explaining the Spirit and Sense, according to his own good Pleasure; with Threats, that if the said States refus'd to conform themselves to this Interpretation, he would force them to it. That this Maxim was so new, and without Example, that if it should be admitted, no one would ever think themselves oblig'd to observe any Treaty. That the said King of *France*, in pursuance to the said Will, had not only caused the Duke of *Anjou* to be proclaimed King of *Spain*, but had likewise, in his Name, taken Possession of all the Kingdoms and Dominions which belonged to the deceased King, to the prejudice of the Emperor's Pretensions, which he had fully acknowledg'd in making the said Treaty of Partition, by which the greatest part of the Monarchy of *Spain* does belong to the Arch-Duke. That the said King of *France* not stopping there, had taken Possession of all the *Spanish Low-Countries* with his own Troops, and had arrested and made their Troops that were therein Prisoners. That their Provinces were thereby depriv'd of the Barrier by which they had sustain'd two bloody Wars, and which the Most Christian King himself had assign'd them by the Treaty of Peace of 1678, That besides that, the King of *France* had begun already to govern Despotically the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Spain*, under the Name of his Grandson, and had so united them to his own, that the whole was now but one and the same Monarchy; witness his Conduct in the *Spanish Low Countries*, which made the Bulwark of our State, and which we presume has been granted him by his Grandson to command as Sovereign therein. That the said King of *France* being arriv'd thereby to a degree of power so Mighty,

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ty, had laid a Foundation to raise himself soon to the universal Monarchy; to work upon which Plan he had sent a formidable Army into *Italy*, and over-run the *Low-Countries* with his Troops, to the end that he might terrifie and constrain them to enter into a separate Negotiation, without the participation of their Allies; the more to oblige them to it, he had made himself Master of the Citadel of *Liege*, and seiz'd upon the Dean, to the End that nothing might hinder his Designs: that he had done the same in the Diocess of *Cologne*; seiz'd upon the Fortresses of *Bon*, *Keyserwaert* and *Rhinberg*, that he might surround them on all sides, and make an Invasion into their Country, according to the Plan of the Year 1672, that the more closely to invest them he had plac'd a considerable Body of Troops in *Woolfembutte*, at the same time to attack them on that side. That to deprive them of all recourse by Sea, as well as by Land, he had seiz'd all the Sea Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the other Islands of the *Mediterranean*, and also of all the Havens of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, the *Indies*, and, in short, all the Commerce of *Europe*, and had perswaded the King of *Portugal* to forbid them his Ports. That to prevent the imminent Danger to which they saw themselves expos'd, they had resolv'd to arm themselves by Sea and Land, and to act with the Emperor, the Queen of *England*, the King of *Prussia*, and other Princes, for the mutual defence of their Dominions and Countries, the maintenance of the Liberty of *Europe*, and the Re-establishment of the publick Tranquillity. That to this End his Imperial Majesty had already sent a considerable Army into *Italy*, and themselves had on their side begun to act with their Troops as Auxiliaries. That if the War must be renew'd, that Misfortune was wholly to be imputed to the King of *France*, since they on their sides had us'd their utmost Endeavours to avoid it. Witness what had pass'd in the Conferences that they had held with the Ministers which the King of *France* had sent to them, from whom they were not able to obtain any answer, and whose sole design was to separate them from their Allies,

without

without which the said King would not agree to any thing, as may be seen by his recalling of his Ministers. That the said King himself had declared to them, that his Armies were ready to enter upon Action if they refus'd to accept the Propositions that were made them by his Ambassadors. That the Designs of the King of *Spain*, as appeared by his Conduct, were the same as those of the King of *France*. That Laws Divine and Humane dictated to 'em to take Care of the defence of their Subjects, the Conservation of their Liberties and Religion, and consequently to take Arms against the said Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and to declare War against them, &c.

It is impossible to express the surprize that our Ministers were in at the receipt of these three Declarations of War, all publish'd the same day. The Marquess *de Torcy* carried them to the King, who was then walking in a great Hall; the Marquess read them over to him. His Majesty seem'd not to give much attention to the Complaints of the Emperor, perhaps because he was not the most considerable Potentate that had declar'd War against him: He made a great many Reflections upon that of the Queen of *England*, the principle Motive that appear'd in that Declaration respect'd the acknowledging the Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, as an Indignity done to that Nation, which it was the Interest of the Court of *France* to treat tenderly and kindly, and not to exasperate and provoke. The Court had trick'd all *Europe* by a Treaty of Partition, and an artificial Will, which had rendred her Mistress of all the Monarchy of *Spain*; and by acknowledging the Prince of *Wales*, she expected nothing less than to become the disposer of the Destiny of the other Powers of *Europe*, and to advance her self at the same time to the universal Monarchy. This Conduct very much provok'd the *English*, who seeing there was no more credit to be given to a Monarch who made Treaties and broke them again whenever he pleas'd, resolv'd at last to declare War against him. The King and his Ministers perceiv'd then the oversight

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fight that they had made, but it was too late to remedy it but by a course of War. What chagrin'd the King most was, the Declaration of the States General of the United Provinces. His Majesty could not understand how the Republican Prudence, to which he had impos'd Laws in the past Wars, durst make a detail of his Conduct for above thirty years past, and, in a manner, to give a Journal of the Life of a Monarch that had made them tremble in the War of 1672. As soon as the Marquess de Torcy had done reading it, the King took the Declaration and, in a transport of Anger, cast it upon the Table, saying, *That Messieurs the Dutch Merchants*, meaning thereby the Lords the States General, *should one day repent of their Boldness in declaring War against so great a Monarch*. But our Ministers, by reading this Declaration, which is one of the most Eloquent and best Writ in that Country's Language that has yet appear'd on the part of that Powerful Republick, concluded, that Messieurs the States would not have come to that Extremity if they had not form'd considerable Alliances, and laid such Foundations for War as might secure their Liberty, and ruin the Projects of the Two Crowns, which Considerations very much embarrassed the Court.

The Emperor's Arms had begun, as I have already said, to open the Theater of War in *Italy*; they did the same upon the Lower *Rhine* the beginning of this Summer; for the Prince of *Nassau Saarbrugh*, after having been declar'd the Emperor's Marshal de Camp, form'd the Siege of *Keyferswaert*, with the Troops of the States, under the name of Auxiliary Troops. General *Dops*, who had also been made a Lieutenant General of his Imperial Majesty, was order'd to Invest the Place. The News of this Expedition was brought to Court the 18th of May by a Courier that Marshal *Boufflers* had dispatch'd.

The opening of the Campaign, and the bold Declaration of War that Monsieurs the States made, and the haughty Answer that they returned to the Memoir that Monsieur *Barre*, the Count d' *Avaux*'s Secretary presented to 'em; after the departure of that Minister; confirm'd the Court in their Opinion, that

that Monsieurs the States had very well provided for their Security. The unexpected Siege of *Keyser-swaert* chang'd the Plan of the Enterprizes that the King had intended. According to that Plan his Majesty's Armies were to open the Campaign the beginning of *May* with the Siege of *Juliers*. At the arrival of the Courier from Marshal *Boufflers* the King held a great Council of War, wherein it was resolv'd, that the Duke of *Burgundy* should depart the 25th for the Army under that Marshal, and Command it in Person, in Quality of Generalissimo of the King's Armies in the *Low-Countries*, and the Electorate of *Cologne*; at the same time *Boufflers* had Orders to march to the relief of *Keyser-swaert*, with the Army that was before design'd for the Expedition upon *Juliers*. All these Motions of the Confederate Troops made the Court of *France* uneasy, the Motions that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* made on the side of *Landau* did not less embarrass her. To Counterbalance the Enemies Projects against the two Crowns, the Court made a new Project, which, if it had succeeded, would have been fatal to the United Provinces, and the Armies of *France* would have seen themselves in the Heart of the Republick, as they did in the year 1672. I mean their intended Enterprize upon *Nimeguen*, where Monsieur the Duke of *Burgundy* should go and Dine, as the King himself had declar'd; but it may be well said, that that Prince made there but a very poor Repast, for besides the unsuccessfulness of that attempt, a great part of his Army died with hunger and thirst, by the great March that they had made, and at last saw themselves expos'd to the fire of all their Artillery, which was plac'd upon the Ramparts of the Town. Thus the King and his Ministers were very much deceived in their first Project, as we shall better see hereafter.

The Siege of *Keyser-swaert* being very famous, I forbear giving a Circumstantial Account of it, since it is to be found elsewhere; I shall therefore content myself in giving an Account of the Motions of the Armies, and the most particular and remarkable Accidents that have accompanied the Siege. The King of *Prussia's* Troops, and those of Messieurs the States,

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finaliz'd themselves therein. The Marquess de *Blinville*, who was Governor, shew'd prodigies of Bravery, and sustain'd the Siege two intire Months; 'tis true, the Motions that Count *Tallard* made contributed much thereto.

The Court was willing to make use of, upon this Occasion, the same Stratagem that they us'd at the Siege of *Namur* in the last War when they bombard'd *Brussels*, expecting thereby to oblige the King of *England*, who made the Siege of that Important Fortrels, to abandon it. To this end Count *Tallard* threatned the Elector *Palatine* with abundance of Assurance and Haughtiness: He let him know, that he had Orders to demand 100000 Crowns Contribution for the Town of *Dusseldorp*; or otherwise, he would level the Redoubt which cover'd the Bridge of Boats before the Town, and the same time destroy the said Bridge; he further requir'd his Electoral Highness to grant his Majesty's Troops a passage into the Country of *Bergue*, adding, that if he refus'd it he would bombard *Dusseldorp*, and reduce it into Ashes. These Threats, instead of producing the effect that was hop'd for, which was, to cause the Siege of *Keyferswaert* to be abandon'd, induc'd the Elector to take all necessary Precautions to cover his Town from the Bombs, and to render that Rodomantado of Count *Tallard* ridiculous. The Marshal seeing himself unable to execute his Project left *Dusseldorp*, went and posted himself with his flying Camp before *Keyferswaert*, rais'd several Batteries of Cannon upon the Bank of the *Rhine*, and fir'd from thence with so much Success, that the Besiegers, notwithstanding their Intrenchments, were very much incommoded, and had besides the Mortification to see the besieged succour'd from that Camp with Troops, Ammunition and all necessary Refreshments, which occasioned the length of the Siege. Marshal *Roufflers* on the other side, at the Head of 20000 Men made a Movement, by which he had like to have surpriz'd the Count *de Tilly*, who was encamp'd at *Zanten* with a small Army; but the Count perceiving his Designs, imitated the Prince of *Vandemont* in the famous Retreat that he made during the Siege of *Namur*; for, having sent before him his Baggage and

and Artillery, he silently decamp'd in the Night and left Marshal *Boufflers*, who was not a little concern'd at the loss of so promising an Opportunity.

I have said, that Monsieur the Duke of *Burgundy* was to put himself at the Head of Marshal *Boufflers*'s Army to command in Chief; accordingly he left *Versailles* the 25th, came to *Peronne* the same night, the next day to *Mons*, and the next day following to *Brussels*. That Prince and the Duke of *Main* who accompanied him, making their entry into *Brussels*, ran the risque of their Lives; for the People were so enraged at the sight of the Duke of *Main*, to whom they imputed the Desolation of their Town by the last Bombardment, that they throng'd after him, crying, *The Duke of Main 24 hours more for me*; the meaning of this was, that when the Duke of *Villeroy* Bombarded *Brussels*, he being affected with the Misery of the People, seeing almost the whole Town was reduc'd to Ashes, order'd the Engineers to discontinue the fire; but then the Duke of *Main*, who was present, order'd in his turn, that it should be bombarded 24 hours more for him. This Cruelty in a Prince that ought to win the Affections of People by his Gentleness, Clemency and Humanity, rendred him so odious in the *Low Countries*, that he had like to have made himself and the Duke of *Burgundy* Victims to the Peoples Resentment; for this reason these two Princes immediately left *Brussels*, and went to the Camp at *Zanten*, where Marshal *Boufflers* had posted himself. The Count *de Tilly*, after his Retreat, came and encamp'd at *Clarenbeck* near *Cleves*; the Count *d' Athlone* join'd him with a Body of 6000 Horse, and was afterwards followed by 11 Battallions of *English*, and some other Troops, who were encamped at *Kosendub*; all these Troops being joined together made up an Army of about 25 or 30000 Men. *Boufflers* was not a little chagrin'd to see that he could not hinder the Conjunction of those Troops, nevertheless, without altering his Dispositions he reforc'd his Army with all the Detachments that had been made, and Count *Tallard* came and join'd him with the greatest part of his Flying Camp; three days after which I arriv'd in Marshal *Boufflers*'s Army, to make

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the Campaign under him, in the same Post that I had served in the last War. I endeavour'd all I could to prevail with Monsieur *Chamillard* to excuse me, but it was all in vain, the Orders of the Court must be obey'd.

The Duke of *Burgundy* having put himself at the Head of the *French Army*, which was 60000 Men strong, undertakes the Expedition of *Nimeguen*, by favour of the Intelligence that he had in that Place. He takes his March near *Gog*, between *Niers* and the Forest of *Cleves*, with a design to cut off the Count of *Athlone's* Communication with *Grave* and *Nimeguen*; the Count having penetrated into his Design decamp'd from *Clarenbeck*, and immediately made a Detachment of 6 Squadrons of Cavalry, and 2 Regiments of Dragoons, commanded by Major General *Bloo*, with orders to possess himself of the Eminences of *Mooch* that were before us; he detach'd likewise the Duke of *Wirtemberg* with a Body of 12 Squadrons to support him; the Duke likewise possess'd himself of one of the Eminences of *Mooch*: In the mean time the Count of *Athlone* followed the Duke of *Wirtemberg* with all his Cavalry, and gave order to the Infantry to march the shortest Way towards *Nimeguen*: Whilst he was upon his March he receiv'd advice from the Duke that some Squadrons of the Enemy appear'd, upon which he advanc'd with Count *Tilly* towards the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to support him; The Duke having perceiv'd 25 or 30 of our *French* Squadrons, immediately abandoned the Eminences of *Mooch*, according to the Orders that the Count of *Athlone* had given him, and join'd himself with that General by favour of some Skirmishes, wherein he behav'd himself with all imaginable Bravery. The Count of *Athlone* immediately ranged his Cavalry in order of Battle, and retired towards his Infantry in good Order; the *French Army* at the same time followed him very close, which made him resolve to march towards *Nimeguen*. The Duke of *Burgundy* having then received all his Cavalry began to charge both the Cavalry and Infantry of the Count of *Athlone* with a great deal of vigour; who behav'd himself with abundance of Resolution. Our Infantry and

Cannon

Cannon at last arriving, the Count of *Athlone* retired within the Works of *Nimeguen*. His Cavalry being then exposed to the fire of our Cannon, suffered extremely; but the Burghers of *Nimeguen* having themselves brought the Cannon upon the Ramparts of the Town (where every thing was in the greatest Confusion) served the Offices of Gunners themselves, for there was not one of that Function then in the Town: As soon as the Cannon was placed upon the Ramparts, and the Burghers began to fire upon our Army, our Generals perceiving then that their Intelligence had fail'd 'em, at last resolved to retreat, in which they did prudently: For our Army being exposed to the perpetual fire of the Cannon of the Town, could not remain there without the greatest danger. Whilst we retired we buried our dead, to prevent the Enemy from knowing the loss that we sustained. As the Affair of *Nimeguen* fail'd our Expectations it was to be attributed to the Conduct of the Count of *Athlone*, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the Count de *Tilly*, who without incommoding themselves made a glorious Retreat, which was the only Method that they had to take against an Army so much superior to 'em: It may be also said that the Zeal and Courage that the Inhabitants of the Town shewed for its defence contributed much thereto.

After the Expedition of *Nimeguen*, the Duke of *Burgundy* very much chagrined at the ill success of his first Enterprize retired to *Cleves*, where he took his Head Quarters. His Army encamped between that Town and *Cranenburgh*. The next day Count *Tallard* with a Body of 10000 Men advanced on the side of *Rhynberg* to cover it: Besides that Detachment we made another a few days afterwards which posted it self between *Keleker* and *Zanten*. The Earl of *Athlone* on his side pass'd the *Waabl* with all his Cavalry, and encamped near Fort *Schenk*, where he received several Detachments, and posted his Troops along the *Waabl* and the *Rhine* in such order, that he hindered the French Army from passing them. The Enterprize upon *Nimeguen* proving abortive, the reduction of *Keyserwaert*, and the arrival of the Duke of *Marborough* with the Auxiliary Troops, put another Face

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upon Affairs. The Earl of *Athlone* and the other Generals being assembled formed a Project for the remaining part of the Campaign, and communicated it to the States, who having approv'd of it sent it back to them again. The 3d of *July* the *French Army*, after having ravag'd the Country left *Cleves*, and encamp'd at *Hassum* near *Genap* and *Gock* between the *Neckar* and the *Maeſe*: That of the Allies form'd a Camp in the *Mockarheyd* near *Nimeguen*, under the Command of the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Duke afterwards decamp'd and advanced with his whole Army to the Castle of *Crevenbrock*, and made himself Master of that Important Post. The 1st of *August* he marched and encamp'd at *Brengal* between *Flanion* and *Peor*, resolving to give Battle to the Duke of *Burgundy* the next day; but that Prince finding himself too weak retreated in the Night: A few days afterwards he received divers Reinforcements brought him by Count *Tallard*, the Count of *Casse* and Prince *Tserclaes* of *Tilly*, making about 18 or 20000 Men; so that now he was in a condition to hazard a Battle, but they had no such Orders from Court: But having perceived my Lord Duke's design upon *Spanish Guelderland*, he made several Detachments to reinforce those Garrisons. The Confederate Army decamp'd the 12th and came and posted it self at *Everberg* to favour the Siege of *Venlo*. The Duke of *Burgundy* made a Motion with his Army in order to enter into the Marsh of *Boisleduc*, invited thither by the abundance of Forage which that Country afforded. To this effect, he advanc'd within a League and a half of *Eyndhoven*, and made himself Master of that Place. On the side of the Allies, General *Obdam* was detach'd with a Body of Troops to invest *Venlo*, another Detachment was made to go and attack the little Town of *Weert*. My Lord Duke decamp'd the 22d of *August* from *Everbock* and came to *Holchteren*, where he found the *French Army* preparing to receive him being very advantageously posted. My Lord Duke rang'd his Troops in order of Battle, in which manner he continued his March. The Duke of *Burgundy* and the *French* Generals rang'd ours also in order of Battle, being very well perswaded that there would


would be no Blows. The two Armies were separated by Marshes and Defiles, in such manner that it was impossible for either to attack the other without the greatest risque; they remain'd in this Disposition two days cannonading each other, and expecting which of the two would begin the attack; but the *French Army*, not willing to run any risques, decamp'd silently in the Night, and took Post at *Berringen*. The Allies on the other side, seeing they could not find any means to bring the Duke of *Burgundy* to a Battle, form'd a Design of taking Towns, and making all the Conquests they could in the absence of their Enemy; upon this Project they came and encamp'd at *Asch* to cover the Siege of *Venlo*, which was invested the 29th of *August* by General *Obdam*, on the side of Fort *St. Michael*, and by the Baron *de Heyde* on the other side of the *Maese* with the *Prussian Cavalry*: General *Coehorn* had the direction of the Attacks, and the Prince of *Nassau Saarburch* had the command of the Siege. The Duke of *Burgundy* left the Army the 6th of *September* to return to Court. If that Prince's arrival in Marshal *Bouffler's* Army was not favourable to the King's Designs by the little success of his Enterprizes, his departure was no more fortunate to the two Crowns: The Allies were so successful that all the rest of the Campaign was nothing but a current of Conquests. *Maeseyck* and *Stokem* were taken, we were forc'd to abandon the little Town of *Erkens*, which Garrison cast themselves into *Ruremond*. I had Orders from Marshal *Boufflers* to enter into *Venlo* before it was invested, to assist the Count *de Váro*, who was Governor therein. The Province of *Luxembourg*, a part of *Brabant*, and the Country between the *Sambre* and *Maese*, sent Deputies to the Confederate Army to treat about the Contributions that were demanded of them. The People every where shew'd an extraordinary Submission to the Victorious Arms of the Confederate Princes, as if *France* had lost her Courage, or entirely forgot the Mystery of War, after she had acquired so much Glory and good Fortune thereby, for almost 50 years together, or through the whole Course of his Majesty's Reign. I shall just stop here to give a remarkable Circumstance upon

this Subject, which occasion'd the taking of *Venlo*, and shews the panick Fear that our Officers and Soldiers were in at that time. The Prince of *Nassau-Saarburg*, who commanded the Siege, received advice from the Elector *Palatine* that *Lanica* was surrendered to the *Imperialists*. It was the Count *de Effenberg* who brought him the News. This Important Place was invested the 10th of *June* by Prince *Johan of Nassau*, who made himself Master of it in spite of all the Efforts that Marshal *Catinat* made with his Army to relieve it, and the vigorous Resistance that *Comte de Mars*, who was Governor, made for its defence. This happy success, with the good Success that the Arms of the Allies had in *Spain*, which *Comte de Mars* noted the Prince of *Nassau* to publish in his Camp, in order to oblige all his Army in order of Battle, and made a triple discharge of all his Artillery upon the Town: in truth, that General could not have employ'd his Powder to better purpose. The Count *de Mars* the Governor, M. *de Louville* Marshal de Camp, and myself, who was then present, were so much surpris'd at the first discharge that we thought they were going to make an Assault upon the Town, as they had done upon the Fort, so that the Count *de Mars* order'd immediately, that the Challenge should be beat, but as the Prince of *Nassau* did not regard that Event, which he no ways expected; he order'd then a second discharge to be made, this made us despair that he would not hearken to us, which oblig'd the Count *de Mars* to send, not only one, but several Drummers to demand a Capitulation; which was executed the 21st of *September*.

After the taking of *Venlo*, the Count *de Tilly*, Lieutenant General of the *Dutch* Cavalry, march'd with 1200 Horse towards *Burenmona* to invest it. *Steenfwaert* was invested the same time, the Trenches were open'd the 29th of *September*, and the Place was surrender'd the 2d of *October*. The Trenches were open'd before *Burenmona* the 2d of *October*, and the Garrison Capitulated the 7th.

Marshal *Boufflers* whom we have left at the Camp of *Berringham*, was under the greatest uneasiness to see the Conquests that the Allies every where made. He was

was desirous of securing *Liege*, and at the same time of posting his Army where it might be free from the Insults of the Enemy. He decamp'd the 11th of September, pass'd the *Demer*, and made a Detachment of 6000 Men for *Liege*, under the command of the Prince de *Tserclas*: His Army being advanc'd as far as *Tongres*, he intrench'd himself so well that he depriv'd the Duke of *Marlborough* of all Hopes of an Engagement. But yet the Duke, who was desirous of signalizing himself, eagerly wish'd that he might add the gain of a Battle to the progress that the Arms of the Allies had made: To this End he left his Camp of *Cenk* and *Asch*, and march'd directly to the Marshal, whom he found posted in such manner as it was impossible to force him to an Engagement. Then the Duke, and the other Generals, resolv'd upon the Siege of *Liege*. The 12th of *October* all the Confederate Army had Orders to March in two Columns between the *Maese* and the *Jecker*; the next day about four a clock in the Afternoon they arriv'd within Cannon shot of the Cittadel. Marshal *Boufflers* then made a Motion with the *French* Army, and abandoning *Tongres* he came and posted himself behind the *Main* to protect that side of *Brabant*. The Town of *Liege* capitulated the 14th without any resistance, the Garrison retiring into the Cittadel and Charter-house. General *Coehorn* having rais'd the Batteries, made the 20th and the day following such a terrible fire upon the Cittadel, and push'd on the Attack with so much Vigour, that the 23d my Lord Duke resolv'd to make an Assault upon the Place, which was executed about 4 a clock that Afternoon by a Detachment of Granadiers, supported by several other Batallions, commanded by the Generals *Fagel* and *Sommerfeldt*. These Troops which were order'd to lodge themselves upon the Counterscarp, push'd on with so much Vigour that they rush'd Sword in Hand into the Body of the Place. The Carnage that they made for three quarters of an hour was very dreadful, but then the Besieged threw down their Arms and beg'd Quarter. I thought my self happy in not being there; I was amongst the number of those that the Marshal had nam'd to cast themselves into the Cittadel

1702.  del at the beginning of the Siege. but I desir'd to be excus'd, alledging, that having been just before besieg'd in *Venlo* it was but reasonable that I should have a little respite. The Confederates found in the Cittadel 36 pieces of Cannon, a considerable quantity of Arms and all sorts of Ammunition, 20000 Crowns in Money, and a Service of Plate which belong'd to the Governour, the two latter particulars were given amongst the Plunder to the Soldiers. The dismal Fate of the Cittadel made the Garrison of the Charter-house seriously reflect, and scarce had the Confederates begun to fire but the Garrison beat a Parley, and Capitulated.

Whilst the Confederate Arms were Victorious and Triumphant in *Spanish Guelderland*, Fortune likewise favour'd 'em in *Flanders*. The Marquess de *Bedmar* having declar'd War in all the *Spanish Low-Countries* on the part of King *Philip V.* against the Emperor, the Queen of *England* and the States General of the United Provinces, assembled an Army and form'd a Project which would have procur'd him abundance of Glory if it had succeeded. It was the Siege of *Hulst*. He began that Siege by the attack of four Forts which he became Master of ; but the Fort which is call'd the great *Kykwyt* made a better defence : He bombard'd and cannonaded it five days successively, but without any effect ; and was at last, after the loss of 600 Men before it oblig'd to retire. This check sav'd *Hulst*, and very much abated the Haughtiness that the Marquess discover'd at the beginning of this Expedition.

We will now cast an Eye upon the Elector of *Bavaria*, who alone temper'd the chagrins of the Court, which saw the Arms of the Allies every where flourishing. To put in execution the Engagements into which his Electoral Highness was entred with the two Crowns, he began with the surprize of *Ulm* ; pretending, ' That the Circles of *Franconia* and *Swabia* ' having solicited him to enter into a Treaty of Association with them, the End of which was to keep ' the War from their Frontiers, he consented to it ; ' and to support that Treaty wherein he had engag'd ' himself, had made a great expence in levying of ' Troops. That the Circles, after they had engag'd him

him in their Party, had deceived him, and eluded the sincerity of his Intentions : That notwithstanding all this he had used his utmost Endeavours to perswade them to return to their true Interest ; but all these Steps having prov'd ineffectual, his Highness believ'd that it was his Interest to oblige the Circle of *Swabia* to do that by force of Arms that it had refus'd to do by the Justice of his Reasons ; and as *Ulm* was a Place which cover'd *Bavaria*, he thought it necessary to seize upon that Important Place to secure the Repose of his People, and the Tranquility of his Dominions.

Now we will see how this Project was executed. Monsieur *Peckman*, Lieutenant Colonel of his Electoral Highness's Guards went and view'd the Town, and observed one Gate, through which the Peasants of the Neighbouring Villages us'd abundance of 'em to enter in the Morning ; it was call'd *Goose-gate*, and was the only one that he thought proper for the Enterprize that he had form'd. *Peckman* having examin'd this Port, returns to his Electoral Highness, and gave him an account of the Project that he had form'd to surprize the Place, which was, to put a certain number of Officers in Peasants Habits, and lay some Troops in Ambuscade within half a League of the Gate, with which he would undertake infallibly to surprize the Place. His Electoral Highness approv'd of the Project, omitted nothing in the execution of it. To this end *Peckman* chose 40 Officers to whom he gave Habits like those of the neighbouring Countries, the youngest of 'em were drest in Women's Cloaths ; they had all some pretence of Business to cover their Design, some carried Baskets of Fruit, others Eggs and other kinds of Provisions, all the Arms that were given them were Pistols, Bayonets, and to each two Granadoes. Some of the Officers were order'd to enter into the Town the day before, and keep themselves near the Gate at the appointed hour in the Morning to support the Enterprize. When the Attack was to be made, one of 'em was to come through the Gate with his Hat cock'd in a particular manner, which was to be a signal to the rest.

Every thing being ready, 600 Dragoons of the Regiment

1702. giment of the Count de Fels were laid in Ambuscade in a little Wood near the Town. The Regiments of Dragoons of the Count de Monasterol and the Chevalier de Sanctini took post a little further off, having carried 200 Granadiers, and the like number of Fusileers behind them; this Ambuscade was favour'd by a Fog. The Officer who was to make the signal appear'd with his Hat in such manner as was agreed on, which signified that all was quiet, and that 'twas then a convenient opportunity to begin the Enterprize. Peckman observing the signal, caus'd the other suppos'd Peasants to advance; when they were come to the Post appointed, he let fall a Hatchet that he had in his Hand, which was the signal for the Attack. Then they cast themselves upon the Guard that kept the Gate, disarm'd them, and the disguis'd Women seiz'd upon the Sentinels to prevent an Alarm. The Soldiers, who were about 20 in number, had a guard put over 'em, one of 'em was kill'd which kept the rest in the greater Subjection. The Officers who were in the Town came near the Gate to hinder any Succours that might come from the Burghers; they likewise seiz'd upon a Tower in which there was a Guard. The Dragoons appear'd Sword in Hand as soon as the signal was given to 'em, and made themselves Masters of the Rampart, the Arsenal and the 5 Bastions: the Garrison began to draw together but were soon dispers'd. The Militia of the Town, which consisted of 18 Companies, each Company containing 200 Men, brought out their Colours and began to assemble. The Women ran together like so many mad People, making use of any thing that came to Hand for their Arms; but notwithstanding all this the Bavarians kept the Posts which they had possess'd themselves of, and defended them by favour of the Troops that arrived.

Having already given a recital of the Stratagem that his Electoral Highness us'd to surprize *Ulm*, I shall now give the Copy of a Letter that M. Ricault Envoy of *France* writ at that time to Monsieur Chamillard: It contains a just Account of the Affairs of *Bavaria*, so far as they concern'd the Court of *France*, and at the same time shews that I have not advanc'd any

any thing upon this Subject in speaking of the Negotiations that I have been employ'd in, that has not been conformable to the Truth: It was conceived in these Terms.

S I R,

I Have receiv'd the Letter that you did me the Honour to write to me the 29th of *August*, and I have acted with his Electoral Highness in conformity to the Orders that I found therein. Every thing is here at present in the best Disposition in the World, I mean that Prince and his Troops; but as for the greatest part of his Ministers, I cannot assure you the same thing concerning them. I did my self the Honour yesterday hastily to acquaint you with the taking of *Ulm*, designing to make you this day a longer detail thereof; but his Electoral Highness has taken up a little of my time, and a hundred little Accidents hinder me on all sides at my beginning of this Letter. A Courier has been dispatch'd to Marshal *Catinat* to inform him of the present posture of Affairs, and the Count *d'Arco* has at the same time been sent with 10000 Men towards *Hunninguen* to stop up that Passage. As his Electoral Highness does not doubt but these Motions will cause the Siege of *Landau* to be abandon'd, so he has likewise reason to believe, that the King of the *Romans* will endeavour to cast his Resentments upon the Elector whom he hates. The Prince of *Baden* takes all possible precautions to reinforce the Passes, thereby to hinder the Conjunction, which has perswaded us that 'tis Prudence to prevent his Designs, and when the Conjunction shall be once made, we shall give them so much, and such dangerous Business in this Country, that *Landau* will not be important enough to keep 'em on that side the *Rhine*. Upon these Considerations, his Electoral Highness has desir'd 30 Batallions and 40 Squadrons from Monsieur the Marshal *Catinat*. I have a little insisted upon the greatness of that Detachment, but his Electoral Highness will not be satisfied with a less number; and as his Reasons are but just, I did not think it proper to oppose his Demands much, especially since in the beginning

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it will not be amiss to promote that fear that we are going to spread over the Empire. As to subsistence, 'twas design'd at first by the resistance that the Burghers of *Ulm* made, that the Troops should have lived upon them as in an Enemies Country ; but it has been resolv'd on since, to seize all the Posts that may be thought proper to possess, under the pretence of the Security of *Bavaria*. The Corn that we have laid up on all sides has been received at a Market price, which is one third cheaper than it was the last year, there having been a very plentiful Harvest in this Country. I shall earnestly expect, Sir, the People that you will send hither, whose March, if you please, pray hasten with all diligence, to confirm all these Steps that have been already made. I am, &c.

*Lillemberg* the 9th of  
September 1702.

Sign'd,

*Ricault.*

After the taking of *Ulm* the *French* made themselves Masters of the little Town of *Neubourg*, which occasion'd a bloody Battle between the Imperialists and the Troops of *France* ; this Action was at *Fridlinguen* after this manner ; Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, unwilling to see the *French* become Masters of *Neubourg*, made a Motion with one part of his Army to cover *Brisac*, and endeavour to retake *Neubourg* ; he was already weakned by the Detachments that he had sent towards *Swabia*, insomuch that he had not above 7 or 8000 Men in his Camp near *Fridlinguen*. The Marquess of *Villars*, now Marshal of *France*, being inform'd of this, caus'd the Infantry of the *French* Army, which he commanded, to pass the 13th of *October* into the *Ille* before *Hunninguen* ; the next day he follow'd with all his Cavalry, and having pass'd the other branch of the *Rhine*, rang'd his Army in order of Battle at the entry of the Plain of *Fridlinguen* : About 12 a clock he march'd up to the Imperialists Intrenchments which he found abandon'd, he advanc'd further upon the Plain towards their Camp, which he

he likewise found abandon'd; at last he resolv'd to march into the Mountains on the side of *Erlingen*, where the Imperialists were posted, and to attack them there. The Imperialists being attack'd push'd the *French* back very vigorously, and being come down into the Plain charg'd so briskly the right Wing of the *French* Army, that never was a more stubborn and bloody Battle seen, which continued two hours. But the Imperialists being much weaker than the *French*, and perceiving that the Count de *Gniscard* was arriv'd with fresh Succours, thought fit to retire and leave Marshal *Villars* Master of the Field of Battle, altho' he had lost many more Men than the Imperialists. But however, the Prince of *Baden* having re-assembled all his Troops at *Stauffen*, he form'd so considerable an Army that he desired nothing more than to revenge himself on Marshal *Villars*, and to that end advanc'd with his Army intending to attack him, but the Marshal not thinking fit to wait his coming repass'd the *Rhine*, and made his Complaints to the Elector of *Bavaria* in very sharp Terms, because his Electoral Highness had not assisted him.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* seeing it impossible to bring Marshal *Villars* to a second Engagement upon equal Terms, was willing to let the World see that the Action of *Fridlinguen* had not disconcerted his Measures: To this End he made three Detachments from his Army, one towards the *Black Forest* to block up the Passage into *Bavaria*, another to attack *Nenbourg*, and a third to reinforce the Prince of *Saxe Meinungen*, who was observing the Motions of Count *Tallard* and the Marquess de *Lomaria*, who with a Body of 18000 Men made themselves Masters of *Treves* the 25th of *October*, and the 27th advanc'd towards *Traerbach*, and form'd the Siege of that Place.

The Court of *France* mightily boasted of the Advantage they had obtain'd at *Fridlinguen*, and the taking of *Treves* and *Traerbach*; and in *Italy* of the Advantage that the Arms of the two Crowns had obtain'd at the fight of *Sancta Victoria*, and in fine, of the Victory that they pretended to have gain'd at the famous Battle of *Luzzara*: However, these Successes

1702. which they so loudly proclaimed Abroad, were many of 'em contested by the Confederates; but granting all that they pretended to, they would not counterbalance the progress that the Allies had made upon the Lower Rhine; in Spanish Guelderland and Flanders, nor much diminish the Chagrin that the King of France had conceived, who knew the true state of Affairs, in seeing the ill turn that they took at the beginning of the War. We will add to what we have here related a short Account of what pass'd in Spain, with which we will finish the Campaign.

It was a happiness to the two Crowns, that the Enterprize upon Cadix did not succeed, the Allies could not strike a Blow that would more sensibly affect Spain, than by making themselves Masters of that Important Place; but let us see what pass'd particularly in this Expedition, and what occasioned the little Success that attended it. The 23d of August the Fleets of England and Holland arriv'd in sight of Cadix. It was thought at first that they were come to make an Invasion into the Kingdom with an Army of 20000 Men, and that the Arch-duke would be at their Head to command them: The whole Country was alarm'd; the Inhabitants of Seville, which is a Place Ten Leagues from Cadix, retir'd further into the Country. The Monks and Priests receiv'd Orders from Cardinal Portocarrero to mount the Pulpit and tell the People in their Sermons, that an Army of Hereticks, worse than the Moors, that had heretofore overrun Spain, were ready to enter into their Country and destroy all with Fire and Sword. That if they did not immediately take up Arms to oppose their Invasion they would certainly effect their Designs: Their Churches would be prophan'd; their Sacred Vessels polluted; their Altars over-turn'd; their Convents destroy'd; the Roman Catholick Religion for ever banish'd from the Monarchy; the Nation enslaved; and all the Country expos'd to Misery and Desolation: That the Spaniards having always been the Bulwark of the Roman Catholick Religion, it was time for them to shew their wonted Zeal, by taking up Arms, Men, Women, and Children, from the least to the greatest, against Hereticks infinitely more to be

be feared than the *Moors* or *Barbarians*, from whom God in his Goodness had formerly deliver'd 'em. These and such like Sentiments they were ordered to inspire into the People; which was nothing but an Artifice us'd by the Cardinal and the Court of *France*, to render the *English* and *Dutch* odious to the *Spanish* Nation. But to come to the Troops who were preparing to land, the Coast was immediately sounded, and the Anchorage examin'd; in the mean time an Officer who had set up a white Flag in a Shallop advanc'd therein towards the Town, with a Letter from the Duke of *Ormond* to the Governour of the Place, Don *Scipio Brancaccio*, which contain'd in Substance, ' That the said Governor having serv'd in *Flanders* ' against the *French*, he hop'd that by the assistance of ' the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet he would declare him- ' self in favour of the House of *Austria*, which he ' had heretofore so well serv'd. Don *Brancaccio* answer'd the Duke of *Ormond* with an haughtiness natural to *Spaniards*, ' That if he had known him serve ' the deceased King with Honour, he hop'd to let the ' Duke see the same Courage and Fidelity for *Philip V*, ' whom he acknowledg'd as sole and lawful Heir of ' the Monarchy of *Spain*. The Duke of *Ormond*, after this Answer, which discover'd the little reason he had to hope to draw the Governor over to his Party, who so closely adher'd to the Interest of the new King, resolv'd to try what he could do by force of Arms, which he began by sending on shoar a great number of Printed Manifesto's, which inform'd the *Spaniards* of the Motives of his Expedition, and were to this effect.

That her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain having been pleas'd to give him the Command of the Forces which her Majesty had join'd to those of the States General, to support the Rights of the House of *Austria*, in pursuance to the Treaties of Alliance made with the Emperor, he thought it necessary before his entring upon Action with the said Forces to declare, that he was not come there to possess himself of any Place belonging to the Monarchy of *Spain*, in the name of her Majesty or the States General of the United Provinces, nor to bring upon them Troubles and Calamities which are generally inseparable

1702 from War, by way of Conquest : but rather to defend the good and faithful Subjects of the said Monarchy, and deliver them from the insupportable yoke under which they have been oppress'd and sold to *Force* by ill designing Persons : That her Majesty and the States General having no other Design than that of maintaining and Defending the Rights of the House of *Castilia*, he declar'd, that all the good *Spaniards* who did not oppose his Troops should be protected in their Persons, Estates, Privileges, Religion, &c. but that if, on the contrary, they do not concur with the good Intentions of her Majesty and the States General ; he calls God to Witness, that the Hostilities committed in such Case by the Troops under his Command ought to be imputed to the *Spaniards* themselves, who having so fair an Opportunity of shewing their Fidelity, and following the Motives of their Duty, and their Interest, refuse to embrace it.

The 26th the Descent was made in the Bay of *Bullr*, between *Rotta* and Fort St. *Catharine*, near Port St. *Mary's* ; 1200 Granadiers commanded by the Baron *Pallant* and my Lord *Poznegal*, landed first. A Body of *Spanish* Cavalry shewed themselves upon a rising Ground, but durst not venture to advance because of the Cannon of some light Frigats which would have incommoded them. An Officer of Distinction willing to give some marks of his Bravery, or rather Temerity, being at the Head of 4 *Spanish* Squadrons, detach'd himself with 30 others, and came up to attack 50 *English*, who making a discharge upon them, the brave *Spanish* Officer that commanded them fell to the Ground, which made the rest of his Party retreat.

*Cadix*, which Place the Duke of *Ormond* had some thoughts of besieging, had then a Garrison of 2300 Men, amongst which were 600 Men of regular Troops. The Fortifications of the Place consisted of a Horn-work and a Crown-work. The Troops which were Disembark'd began with the attack of the Towns of *Rotta* and St. *Mary*, which they became Masters of with little Trouble, as also the Fort of St. *Catharine* ; but they met with greater Opposition at the Fort of *Mattagorda*, which is built upon one of

of the two Puntals on the side of *St. Mary*. The Duke of *Ormond* commanded 4000 *English* and *Dutch* to attack that Fort, they rais'd three Batteries, but the Ground being marshy they were not able to place there more than two Field Pieces and two Mortars: The *Spaniards* making use of this Advantage, made such a terrible Fire from the Cannon of the Place, and the Gallies which were in the Port, as well as from their Muskets, that the *English* and *Dutch* were obliged to retire with considerable Loss. The Generals seeing it impossible to carry on the Siege of *Cadiz*, call'd a Council of War, and resolv'd therein to re-embark their Troops, although they had reason to fear that the *Spaniards*, encourag'd by their ill Success in this Enterprize, would fall upon them in their Retreat. They re-embark'd, however, the 26th of *September* without any Opposition.

This famous Expedition having miscarried, the Court of *France* pleas'd themselves, saying, that the Generals who commanded the Troops in that Descent had been guilty of a Crime, contrary to the Rules of good Policy, who should, in a Country where they came as Friends, and where the Catholick Religion was profess'd, have forbid the Soldiers, upon pain of Death, not only to pillage the Inhabitants but also the Churches: That what pass'd at *St. Mary's* and other Places where the *English* Troops came, had sour'd the *Spaniards*, and induc'd them to make such a Resistance, that neither the Court of *Madrid*, nor the Court of *France* did expect from them; but it appear'd afterwards to be far from any fault of the Generals, who did on the contrary endeavour all they could to hinder these Ravages, but it was very difficult to stop the Licentiousness of Soldiers in a Country where the hopes of Booty had encourag'd them, and where they expected to find all the Riches of the *Indies*. I shall finish this Affair of *Cadiz* with two Letters upon this Subject which deserve reading; one from the Duke of *Ormond* to the Marquess de *Villadarias*, the other is the Answer that was made to it.

~ A Letter from the Duke of Ormond to the Marquess  
de Villadarias.

THE ill reception that you have given to the Troops which came under our Command on the part of the Arch-duke of *Enfria*, may cost you dear, Sir, as well as your Country-men. His Imperial Majesty will take more certain Methods than these upon which he thought he might depend, and perhaps you would be glad to call back his Clemency when he shall have a just Indignation against you. It is time yet, Sir, think of repairing your Fault. I promise to make your Peace so well that you shall be treated with all sort of Distinction, in a Court where you will see the Antient *Castilian* Liberty flourish after the true King shall be plac'd upon the Throne. The Queen of *England*, my Sovereign, has done me the Honour to intrust me with a Letter of Credence, which impowers me to treat with you, and confirms any Contract that I shall make with you; once more, dear Sir, think of aggrandizing your self, and setting your self at Liberty with the rest of your Country-men. I shall expect your Answer by this Lieutenant and Trumpeter. I doubt not but you will communicate my Letter to your Council. I am, with all Respect,

Your most humble Servant,

The Duke of Ormond.

The Marquess de Villadarias's Answer to the Duke  
of Ormond.

SIR,  
IF the King, my Master, could have foreseen the Rashness that his Enemies have had, of coming into this Read to corrupt his Subjects, his Majesty would have given me Instructions to answer you with that Politeness, which the Duke of Ormond alone is capable of, to all the Propositions that he has made me on the part of the Emperor and the Arch-  
Duke.

Duke. I respect in these two Princes the Characters that they are dignified with; but I so much Glory in being able to resist with so much constancy the Promises that they have made, that I am very little disturb'd at the receipt of their Threats. *Philip V.* is my King, for whom I have sworn to shed even the last drop of my Blood: These are the Sentiments that Subjects ought to conceive for a Prince instructed in the Art of Governing, by a Grandfather whose Reign has made him envied by all the Courts of *Europe*. Undeceive your self then, Sir, of the bad Ideas you have conceived, have a better Opinion of a Man who deserves your Esteem, or begin again your Attacks, if you would have another Answer from the Council you desire me to consult, and you will find whether we are disposed to do our Duty, like People who fear nothing so much as Chastisements due to Treason and Rebellion. We have nothing but generous Examples from our Ancestors, they have never sought their Advancement in Blood, nor in the Death of their Kings, *Mori pr. Patria* is my Device. You may communicate it to the Princess who governs *England*, enjoy her Favours as long as you can, and believe, Sir, that I am with Respect,

*Your most humble, Servant,*

*The Marquess de Villadarias.*

As I knew the Marquess *de Villadarias* particularly well in *Spain*, I was not surpriz'd at the proud Answer that he made the Duke of *Ormond*; he was one of Cardinal *Portocarrero's* Creatures, with whom I saw him every day when I was at *Madrid*, and consequently must be one of the most zealous Partisans for the present Government. He is yet one of the Flatterers of the Court, such as we have in *France*, who by their Incense of Praises and Flatteries raise themselves to the highest Employments. I come now to the Expedition of *Viga*.

Sir *George Rook* having advice by a Ship that he had detach'd, of the arrival of the Plate Fleet command- ed by Monsieur *Chateau-Renaud*, in the Bay of *Viga*,

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began to think of repairing the ill Success that they had at the Siege of *Cadix*; by an Enterprize no less Glorious than the former. He communicated his Design to the *Dutch* Admiral, who approv'd of it, and the next day a Council was call'd of all the Flag Officers, and likewise the chief Officers of the Army. The great Advantages that *England* and *Holland* would receive from this Project if they could ruin the *French* Fleet were represented to them, and that this being the most Glorious Expedition that they had yet undertaken, they ought not to defer it. All the Officers, both of the Fleet and Army, consented to it, some induced by the hopes of Booty, others by the Glory that they should acquire thereby. The Confederate Fleet arriv'd at *Vigo* the 22d of *October*, and were by favour of a Fog undiscover'd till they advanced within 3 or 4 Miles of *Rodondello*, where the *French* had posted themselves with the *Spanish* Galleons in a strait Passage which was on one side defended by a Castle; and on both sides the River were Platforms with a great many Pieces of Cannon placed upon them to defend the mouth of the River, which was also stop'd up by a very strong Stacado or Boom made with Masts and Yards of Ships, Cables, Chains and Casks. The Confederate Fleet coming to an Anchor call'd a Council of War, of all the Principal Officers both of Sea and Land; the result was, that since they could not attack the Galleons in the Strait they were in with all their Fleet, they would make a Detachment of 15 *English* and *Dutch* Ships, supported by all the Fireships, with which they would make the Attack, the Frigats and Bomb Vessels were to bring up the Rear, and the remainder of the great Ships were to follow. As to the Land Forces, it was resolv'd, that they should land the next morning, and attack the Fort which was in the middle of *Rodondello*. To put this Project in execution, the Duke of *Ormond* landed with 2000 Men without any Opposition; he order'd my Lord *Shannon* to put himself at the Head of the Granadiers, and march directly to the Fort which cover'd the entrance into the Port where the Boom was, which was executed with abundance of Bravery and Resolution; in the mean time the Prince

of

of *Barbazan*, appear'd with 8000 *Spaniards* between the Fort and the Mountains ; but as they were Troops drawn together without any Discipline, they retir'd at the first discharge of the *English Granadiers*, who push'd at the same time another party of *Spaniards* even to the Fort, and became Masters of the lower Battery. Lieutenant General *Churchill's* Regiment seeing this happy Success, march'd up to support the *Granadiers*. As soon as they were Masters of the Battery the *French* and *Spaniards* retir'd into an old Castle called the *Stone Tower*, where they defended themselves for some time, but opening the Gate to make a Sally, the *English* and *Dutch Granadiers* making use of this opportunity, rush'd by force into the Castle, and made themselves Masters of it. They found therein 300 *French*, 50 *Spanish* Seamen, and 40 pieces of Cannon. The Fleet prepar'd to make their Attack as soon as the Troops were landed. The Admiral gave the Signal for weighing Anchor, and the Line was form'd ; and being advanc'd within reach of the Cannon from the Batteries they were becalm'd and oblig'd to come again to an Anchor, but about two o'clock in the Afternoon a fresh Gale of Wind arising, the Ships that were nearest the Bay cut their Cables, the rest weigh'd Anchor, and receiv'd the Fire from all the Artillery of the *French* Fleet till they came near the Boom. Vice-Admiral *Hobson*, who commanded the Ship called the *Torbay*, was the first that forc'd it, he broke it all at once. The other Ships of the *English* Division, and the *Dutch* Squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral *Vander Goes*, who bore down in the Center, found more resistance, and were oblig'd to cut it. Then was there a terrible Fire made on both sides from all the Artillery, and in the space of half a quarter of an hour, the greatest part of the *French* Ships were burning ; M. *Chateau-Renaud* began first by putting fire to his own Ship, other *French* Captains afterwards, according to his Example, did the same. There was in the Port 38 sail of Ships, whereof some were taken, and the rest destroy'd. The *English* became Masters of five Men of War and four Galleons. The *Dutch* took one Man of War call'd the *Bourbon*, and five Galleons. They drew up the

1702. Silver from the bottom of the Galleons that were burnt, and made a mighty Booty of Treasure, and all sorts of *Indian* Merchandizes. There was only some Silver sav'd which M. *Chateau Renaud* had the precaution before the Fight to send into the Country: That Admiral after this Misfortune retir'd to *Compeflella* with his Seamen and Soldiers. The Confederate Fleet, after they had got together all the Booty that the Place would afford 'em, fitted up those Ships that were fit to put to Sea, and burnt the rest; took on board 110 pieces of brass Cannon that had been planted along the River side to hinder their landing, and so return'd Home.

The Court of *France* having received the News of the defeat of the Fleet, was mortified thereat beyond expression. The King, being accusom'd to conquer, was so touch'd that he could not forbear saying, that this Reverse of Fortune was the most sensible to him of any that had happen'd during the whole course of his Reign. The Campaign of 1702. being ended, the Generals of the Armies which serv'd in *Italy*, upon the Upper and Lower *Rhine*, in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, came to Court; I follow'd the Marshal *Boufflers*; and staying at *Paris* some days before I went to *Versailles*, I made use of those agreeable moments to visit some particular Friends; I went first to my two Cousins Madam *de Blois* and *de Chambre*, who ask'd me how I had spent the Campaign: As I had no good to tell them upon the Subject of War, I told them, that the Devil sometimes concern'd himself in those Affairs as he did in that of Love; I added, that he was so much concern'd in the last Campaign that for my part I believ'd he had depriv'd our Generals of their Senses. I was so chagrin'd at the ill Success of the King's Arms, and yet more at the biting Railleries that were made me upon that Subject, that I began to detest the business of War as the most ungrateful of all Employments. If we make a happy and prosperous Campaign a Man of War is then in his Element, he is welcome at Court, kindly received by his Mistresses, and respected by the People: Money rous on all sides, every body treats and caresses him; his Credit is good, he is embrac'd as an Hero and Saviour of his Country,

try, and above all, as a Person careful of the King's Glory; for in *France* that's the first Motive of a Man of War, unless he will be an Enemy to his own Fortune and pass for a mean and cowardly Man: But if, on the contrary, the King's Arms are worsted, then all the World turn their Backs upon us, degrade us as unworthy to carry Arms, and heap all manner of Reproaches upon us. When I left my two Cousins, *Madam de Blois* and *de Chambre*, I went to pay my Respects to the amiable *Mademoiselle d'Entragues*, who made me much the same Compliment as my two Cousins had done, upon the Success of the Campaign. My Mind was so full of the lots of Towns and Projects ill executed, that I answer'd her roughly, that if the Fortune of War was chapp'd 'twas since Women concerned themselves therein.

Having taken leave of this Lady I went to *Verfailles*, where I found all our Generals muttering at the Reproaches that the King had made them of the little care they had had of his Glory, and that of his Grandson the Duke of *Burgundy* the last Campaign. *Catinat* was thought to have forgot the Mystery of War, which he manag'd with so much Success and Applause formerly in *Italy*, because he had not rais'd the Siege of *Landau*. *Boufflers* was reproach'd for losing the opportunity of entirely defeating Count *Tilly* at *Zanten*, and having ill executed the Orders of the Court at *Nimeguen*. *Tallard* was thought imprudent in not having sufficient care of the King's Interest by neglecting to bombard *Dusseldorp*, which would have sav'd *Keyferswaert*. For my part, tho' I was not in the rank of the Generals, I had nevertheless my part, for visiting the Marchioness of *Maintenon*, I found her very uneasy and out of temper, and indeed felt the effects of her Resentment, by the Reproach she made me of suffering my self to be impos'd on, as well as the Count *de Vars* at the Siege of *Vento*, when we Capitulated upon the discharge of the Cannon and Muskets that the Prince of *Nassau* made upon us for the surrender of *Landau*. If the Court of *France* was so uneasy, what Joy, on the contrary was in *Holland* for the Advantages that the Confederate Arms had gain'd, where, to encourage the

1702. the People by Rejoycings that might signifie the Triumph and Victory of a Republick, that the King of *France* had endeavoured to ruin, there was represented at the *Hague*, before the Palace of the States, the destruction of the Gallies and *French* Fleet at *Vigo*. This Show was follow'd by Fire-Works which represented all the Conquests they had made upon the two Kings the preceeding Campaign.

1703. The Progress of the Confederate Arms in the last Campaign extremely embarrass'd the Court of *France*; but our Ministers conceiving great hopes from the adherence that the Elector of *Bavaria* testified to the Interest of the King, resolved to carry all the force of the War into the Dominions of that Prince; they propos'd thereby to deprive the *Germans* of their Communication with *Italy*, and to oblige Prince *Eugene* to return from thence; besides that, they pretended so much to disturb the Empire, that the Emperor should not know where to lay his Head. The Court of *Vienna*, the Circles of *Franconia* and *Swabia* lying most expos'd, and foreseeing the dangerous Consequences of a War breaking out in the Bosom of the Empire, made very great Preparations to oppose their Designs. The Troops of *Franconia* march'd the beginning of *January* towards the Frontiers of *Bavaria*: The Elector took great umbrage at this Motion, and demanded of that Circle what was their Design? They answer'd him, 'That since his Highness was preparing to fill his Country with foreign Troops, and fortified his Frontiers, he ought not to take it ill, that they took the same precautions for their Security; adding, that his Conduct towards the Circle of *Swabia* engaged them to it.

The Emperor's Generals entred also upon Action against the Elector of *Bavaria* the beginning of *March*; Count *Schlick* on the side of *Salzbourg* with one Army, and Count *Stirum* on the side of *Neumark* with another. At the arrival of these two Generals all the Country was in a Consternation. Count *Stirum* defeated a Body of *Bavarian* Troops, and became Master of the little Town of *Düffort*, making the Garrison Prisoners of War. Count *Schlick*, on his side took several little Frontier Places, and publish'd every where

where the Emperor's Avacatory Letters, by which he discharg'd the Magistrates and Officers from the Oath of Fidelity that they had taken to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and invited them to put themselves under his Imperial Majesty's Obedience. These first Motions alarm'd all the Country, and Madam the Electress her self with all her Family retir'd for their security to *Ingolstadt*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, whose chief aim was to amuse the States of *Franconia* by a suspension of Arms, till he had received the Succours which the King of *France* was to send him; made new instances to the States: He assur'd them of the sincerity of his Intentions to live in Peace with them, and even offer'd to evacuate the Towns of *Ulm* and *Memingen*, if the Emperor and Empire would accept the Propositions that he had made to the Diet of *Ratisbon*. But the States of *Franconia* seeing in the mean time the Progress that the Counts *Schlick* and *Seym* made, answer'd the Elector, that they resolv'd to continue stedfast in their Alliance. His Electoral Highness seeing all his Intrigues ineffectual, caus'd his Troops to march to oppose the Forces that the Emperor had sent against him. The 16th of *March* he assembled his Army near *Brenau*, and to deceive Count *Schlick*, reported that he was going to besiege *Passau*. Count *Schlick* considering the Importance of that Place, advanc'd with the greatest part of his Infantry to cover it, leaving his Cavalry and all his Artillery behind him; an Imprudence fatal to him; for General *Pless* being upon his March to follow Count *Schlick*, according to the Orders that he had received from him; the Elector of *Bavaria* thought fit to attack him, and to hazard a Battle. The 10th of *May*, about five a clock in the Evening the Elector pass'd over *Scarding* Bridge with his Army, the next morning at break of day he advanc'd towards the Village *Iseybira*, where the Regiments of *Schlick* and *Hannover* were posted. He attack'd them and drove them to their main Body, where they rang'd themselves together in order of Battle, resolving to expect the Elector; who taking the advantage of his Superiority renew'd the Charge, and after a bloody Engagement forc'd them to quit the Field of Battle. The Cavalry was routed and dispers'd,

1703. dispers'd, and the Infantry cut in pieces : the Baggage, Waggon, Tents, Cannon and Mortars, were all abandon'd.

The Elector having obtain'd a complete Victory at the Battle of *Scarangen*, took up his Quarters at *Charding*, where the clashing of Arms did not so much affect his Ears, nor military Projects so much employ his Thoughts, but some of these precious Moments were reserv'd for Gallantry. The Elector had formerly bestow'd his Favours upon a Dancer who belong'd to the Opera at *Brussels*, and did by his continuance of 'em encourage her to follow him into *Bavaria*. His Highness had another Mistress who was a *Franconian*, she was a lofty well made Woman, plain, and unpolish'd in Address, as the *Germans* generally are ; but the former was polite and witty, had seen the World, and knew all the Intrigues of Love : I knew her particularly well at *Brussels*, and have seen her in *Bavaria* before the Battle of *Hochstet*, and from her self had this Relation which I am going to recite. Never was the Elector more plagued than with these two Spirits : as they had Orders to follow him into the Field as well as in his Winter Quarters ; each us'd her utmost Endeavours wholly to possess his Heart ; and never did Jealousie make such ravages as between these two Rivals : It was their study to perplex and ruin one another. Although each had her separate Apartment, the Dancer out of Malice privately took away the *Franconian's* padded Stays, and carried them immediately to the Elector to shew the Artifice that she us'd to hide her Deformity : She was indeed a little crooked, but when she was dress'd it was not at all discernable she had then a very agreeable shape. We have a great number of Ladies at *Paris*, that are not ignorant of this Artifice, and yet pass for prime Beauties. The Elector was so far from declining the Love which he had conceived for the *German* that he loved her the more passionately, and laugh'd at the cratty designs of her Rival ; who seeing the *Franconian* more triumphant from what had already pass'd, was resolv'd to try a new trick. In order to it she dresses up a Whantom like a Chavalier of some considerable Distinction, with a long light Wig, Feather

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in his Hat, lac'd Coat, &c. and took an occasion when her Rival was gone a little way abroad to convey it, by one of the Elector's Pages, whom she had gain'd to her assistance, into the *Franconian's* Chamber; this being done and the Door lock'd, she goes immediately to the Elector, inveighs against her Rival's Infidelity, and tells the Elector, that if his Highness pleas'd she would convince him with his own Eyes; he went with her softly to the Chamber Door, and looking through the Lock saw, as he thought, a Man lying down upon the Bed. The Elector being return'd, the Projector, as happy as a Queen at the success of her Stratagem, sends the Page immediately to fetch away the Phantom. The *Franconian* coming very innocently soon after to the Elector, he, in the greatest fury, upbraided her of her Inconstancy and Perfidiousness, and gave her all the cruel Language that Jealousie and Anger were able to inspire him with, with orders never more to appear before him, but to retire from his Court. The poor Girl, who was innocent of the Fact that she was accus'd of, broke out into Tears before the Elector, and us'd her utmost endeavour to justify her self from the Reproaches that he had heap'd upon her; but all was not sufficient to induce him to hearken to her, or perswade him against a thing that his own Eyes had been witnesses of. The Dancer applauded her self for having so well succeeded in her Enterprize, and triumph'd over her Rival, who sunk into the lowest Despair, diligently endeavour'd to discover from whence the blow came, she suspected her Rival, but without any foundation: The Page, who was of the Secret, soon after differ'd with the Dancer because she would not perform her promise to him, which was to grant him the same Favours as she did the Elector. He goes to the *Franconian* and inform'd her of the Intrigue that had caus'd her Disgrace; she contriv'd a revenge which should be beyond the others power to return, and considering her as a *German*, she managed it with abundance of nicery. She went to Count *Camartine*, a Captain of Dragoons, a *French* Officer whom the King had sent into *Bavaria*. The Count was a Man that would run thro' Fire to shew his Complaisance to one of the Fair Sex,

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Sex, for whom he had an Esteem. The *Franconian* gave him an Account of the Misunderstanding that was between the Elector and her self, by a trick that the Dancer her Rival had put upon her, and the desir'd him to revenge it : He promis'd that he would do it ; in order to it she gave him a Purse of 50 Louis's d' Or. *Camartine* goes immediately to her, feign'd himself violently in Love, order'd to make her a Present of 50 Louis's d' Or if she would grant him her Favours, and promis'd to keep the Secret so faithfully that his Electoral Highness should never know the least thing in the World of it. The Dancer, dazzled with the glittering Gold, gave *Camartine* an Appointment ; the *Franconian* advis'd of all these particulars, writ the Elector a Billet in these Terms.

S I R,

Some Body has endeavour'd to blot me out of your Thoughts, by Accusations of Infidelity, which have drawn upon me my Disgrace ; if you desire to see real Marks of my Innocence, and at the same time her Ferdiousefness, who has been the Author of my Disgrace, and who boasts of having the sole possession of your Heart ; be pleas'd to go incognito to Count *Camartine*'s Lodgings at seven o'clock this Evening. I need not say more ; pray make use of this Advice which I give your Highness.

The Elector having read the Billet disguis'd himself, punctually observ'd the Time and Place appointed, and having surpriz'd them in the Fact was so violently angry at his Perfidious Mistress, that he would have run his Sword through her if Count *Camartine* had not stept between : And as the Elector had a very particular Esteem for *Camartine* who was a good Officer, he suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon by his intreaty not to come to such a fatal Extremity, but let the Adventure pass without much noise, expelling that very moment his treacherous Mistress from his Court. Then the *Franconian* in her turn enter'd into favour, and had the pleasure of seeing her Rival's Interest sacrificed to her Vengeance.

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The happy success that his Electoral Highness's Arms had at the Battle of *Scardingen* was trumpeted abroad in *France* and *Bavaria*, altho' all the advantage that follow'd it was the taking the little Town of *Newbourg* upon the *Inn* : whereas on the other side, Count *Styrum* had made himself Master of *Newmarck*, *Freidstadt* and *Newbassel*, and advanc'd with his Army towards *Amberg*, the Capital of the Upper Palatinate of *Bavaria*, with design to besiege it. The Elector observing the Progress of Count *Styrum*, made a motion with his Army as if he had a design to hinder the Siege of *Amberg*, but his true design was to make himself Master of *Ratisbon*, which he effected. *Styrum* thereupon came and encamp'd between *Newmarck* and *Amberg*, with a resolution to give the Elector Battle if he was inclin'd to accept of it. The Prince of *Anspach* having been detach'd with 800 Horse to secure the Passage of *Witz*, He attack'd the *Bavarians*, who were possess'd of a very Important Post, and oblig'd them to abandon it ; but that Prince, willing to pursue them, was attack'd by the Elector near *Burghenfeldt* with a Body of 4000 Men ; where, after he had made a glorious resistance, was at last wounded by a Musket shot, of which he died the next day. The Elector of *Bavaria*, after he had taken possession of *Ratisbon*, shew'd the like design upon *Passau*, which oblig'd General *Schlick* to come and encamp under the Cannon of that Town, to take care of its security. His Electoral Highness, after many Marches and Countermarches, not thinking it practicable to attack the Emperor's Generals in the advantageous Posts that they were in, made a Detachment towards *Willingen*, and followed with the greatest part of his Troops to meet Marshal *Villars*, who was bringing him 55 Battallions and 66 Squadrons of *French* Troops. *Villars* having made an unsuccessful attempt on the side of *Stolhoffen*, resolv'd to attempt the passage by the Valley of *Kintziger* ; in order thereto, he sent the Marquis *de Blainville* before with 20 Battallions and 30 Squadrons to force the Passes, and level the Roads for the rest of the Army. *Blainville* succeeded in his Expedition, and after having forc'd the Intrenchments of the several Posts which

1703. which the Enemy was possess of, Marshal *Villars* arriv'd at last in the Plain of *Willingen* with his whole Army. The Elector of *Bavaria*, impatient to see the *French*, march'd to *Riedlingen* and there encamp'd. The *French* took Post between *Fridlingen* and *Meskerken*; Marshal *Villars* made a Visit from thence to the Elector in his Camp. and the Elector in his turn paid the Visit the next day to the Marshal, who received him with great Honours. The *Bavarians* were overjoy'd to see the choicest Troops of *France* come to their assistance; and the *French*, who love novelty, were proud of seeing themselves in the middle of *Germany*; in short, both Officers and Soldiers expected nothing less than enriching themselves, either at the expence of that Prince to whose assistance they were come, or at the expence of other States of the Empire that had declar'd themselves his Enemies. The Marquess *de Villars*, their Commander, soon gave tokens of the *French* Domination. He told the Elector, ' That he had Orders from Court to demand ' *Ulm*, *Ingolstadt*, and *Branau* for Places of security; ' That his Electoral Highness should admit of his ' being Commander in Chief; and that he should ' consent that all the Sums of Money that they should ' exact by Contributions should be put into the ' Hands of the Paymaster of the *French* Army. The Elector, incens'd at such Demands, rejected the Propositions, and boldly said, ' That if the King pretended to make him pay so dearly for the Succours ' that he had sent him, he might recall 'em. But the Marshal, who had secret Orders from Court, pretended to send Couriers to *Versailles*; the Couriers went only to *Strasbourg*, and return'd about the time that they might be expected from *Versailles*: Then the Marshal told the Elector that the King had found means to give his Electoral Highness satisfaction in that Case, which was, that half *French* and half *Bavarians* should enter into all the Places, and that they should begin with *Ulm*, which had like to have been re-taken by surprize by favour of some Intelligences that Count *Styrum* had there.

I have said in speaking of the Elector's Amours that one of his Highness's Pages had betray'd his *Brus-*  
*sis*

*self* Mistress, in discovering to the *Franconian* her Rival the Intrigue that she made use of to disgrace her. The Page, who was a genteel well made Youth, thereby entred into her Favours, of which he partook with the Elector his Master ; the Count *Camartane*, to be recompenced for the Services that he had done for this Favourite, took likewise a part of these Pleasures. Altho' these Amorous Commerces were kept very secret, the Dancer, who was absent from Court, yet found means to discover them. Nothing is so sweet as Revenge between two Rivals in the Affair of Love. The Dancer seeing her self banish'd from the favour of her Prince, and ruin'd in her Fortune, resolv'd to make a Sacrifice of the three Lovers that had been the Authors of her disgrace, and were even then alternately enjoying each other, and triumphing over her Misfortune. She knew that the Page had given her Rival an History of the Phantom ; that the Count *de Camartane* had received 50 Lewis's d' Or from the *Franconian* with which he drew her into a snare which was fatal to her : All these Treacheries so far exasperated her that she was resolv'd to use her utmost endeavour to revenge her self, if she should even lose her Life and all she had in the Attempt. To effect this she made an Acquaintance with the Marquess *de Touri*, Captain of Horse in the *French* Troops, that Marthal *Villars* brought with him into *Bavaria*. She delivered him a very rich Diamond, which the Elector had given her at the Opera at *Brussels* in the beginning of his Amours, and desired the Marquess to endeavour to obtain some favours from her Rival, by the help of that Jewel which he was to make her a Present of. The young Marquess, who design'd nothing but to divert himself, willingly received a Commission, which was to be executed at the Charge of the disgrac'd Favourite. He makes a visit to the *Franconian*, declar'd his Love to her in the most tender Expressions he could think of, and to render them the more effectual, presented the Diamond ; its Lustre made the regent Favourite forget the Fidelity that she had so often vow'd to the Elector. The Marquess triumph'd over her Charms, which he made her Rival acquainted with. The

1703. *Franconian*, who thought she had by her Charms obtain'd a Present from a young Lord just come from the Court of *France*, and consequently unknown to his Highness, was proud of wearing the Diamond, which gave a fresh Lustre to her pretty Hand. The Elector playing one day at Cards with her, admir'd the beauty of the Diamond, and desir'd to see it nearer; she drew it from her Finger and presented it to his Highness, who knew it again immediately, and ask'd her where she had it. The *Franconian*, surpriz'd at the Elector's curiosity, did not know how to answer him. His Highness discover'd from thence that there must be some secret Mystery, and remembring very well that he had formerly made a Present of it to the Dancer, resolv'd to know the truth, and therefore sent for her. The Dancer being come discover'd all the Intrigue, and throughly to convince his Highness of her Rival's Infidelity drew a *Billet doux* from her Purse, which she had sent to the Marquess de *Tou-ri*, wherein she express'd all the excess of Love which she had conceived for this new Admirer, and at the same time appointed him a rendezvous: But to triumph the more over the *Franconian* she inform'd his Highness of the secret Correspondence that she had with the Count de *Cancartane* and one of his Pages. Then the Elector said, that he thought the Devil was absolutely concern'd in his Amours, and that there was nothing so deceitful as Mistresses. The *Franconian* was oblig'd the second time to retire from Court, and the Dancer was again received into Favour; she was overjoy'd at the Victory she had gain'd over her Rival; and as she was a Woman of Wit she thought now of nothing more than making her Fortune, and quietly enjoying the favour of her Prince.

The two Armies being join'd the whole Campaign was spent in Movements, which serv'd only to amuse the Confederates; sometimes advancing towards the *Switz* to alarm them, and then on the other Hand towards the *Germans* in their Lines of *Stolhoffen*, as if the Elector had design'd to give them Battle; but yet when Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* abandon'd thote Lines, and in his turn presented himself to the Elector he intrench'd himself to avoid it. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* seeing

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seeing he could not find any means to engage his Enemy, decamp'd and march'd to the Frontiers of *Bavaria*; this motion sav'd *Ausburgh*, which was upon the point of being besieg'd by the Count d' *Arco* who commanded a seperate Body of *Bavarian* Troops; but that General was oblig'd to retire at the approach of the Imperial Army. The Prince of *Baden* having caused some Troops to enter into *Ausburgh* advanc'd to *Friedberg*, which Place he made himself Master of. General *Aufas* on the other side took the Town of *Rotemberg*. Marshal *Villars* at last leaving his Camp pass'd the *Danube*, and march'd up to Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* and in his turn offers Battle: but that Prince not thinking it proper to run that hazard, return'd the Marshal his Compliment, and posted himself between the *Lech* and *Werden*, where he intrench'd; one may say that the manner in which these two Generals made War was but a Game at *Bo Peep*; when one would fight the other would not; but it was not so with the other Generals that commanded separate Bodies, witness the Battle of *Schwemmingen*, where Count *Styrum* was attack'd by the Elector of *Bavaria*, Marshal *Villars* and the Marquess d' *Usson* after this manner. Count *Styrum* left his Camp of *Hausheim* the 19th of *September* (with a design to go and join Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* on the other side of the *Danube*) and came to *Schwemmingen*, where he staid the day following to give time to his Artillery to join him: The 21st at 4 a clock in the morning he received advice, that Marshal *Villars* and the Elector of *Bavaria* had pass'd the *Danube* at *Donauert* with their Army the night before with a design to come and attack him. He ranges without loss of time his Army in order of Battle, which was compos'd of 45 Squadrons and 25 Battallions, in which time he heard the report of three great Guns from *Donauert*, which the Marquess d' *Usson* answer'd by six others from *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*, which was their Signal. Count *Styrum* then seeing that he was like to be swallow'd up by the greatness of their number, resolv'd to attack the Marquess d' *Usson* before the Elector and Marshal had join'd him; to this end he order'd General *Palfy* to advance with a Detachment

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of Cavalry, who attack'd so vigorously the Marquess *d'Es* that he routed him Horse and Foot. 6 Squadrons of his Horse perishing in a Minute. The Elector being come up with 30 Battalions and 55 Squadrons attack'd *Fay* in his turn. Count *Seyran*'s Cavalry was oblig'd to give way and retire behind the second Line, which Line sustained the Charge with abundance of Bravery: but as the two Armies were very unequal, and Count *Seyran* saw himself surrounded by the Enemy on all sides, he was oblig'd to retire under the Cannon of *Nördlingen*.

The rest of the Campaign was spent in Stratagems of War, and moving from one Camp to another without any further Action. The Elector and Marshal made diverse motions to engage Prince *Lewis of Baden* to a general battle; but he always avoided it. 'Tis true, in the beginning of the Campaign the Elector's Arms made some Progress in *Tyrol*, but that Prince lost his Conquests there with as much rapidity as he had gain'd 'em. The little success of the War in *Bavaria* was attributed at the Court of *France* to the misunderstanding that was between the Elector and Marshal *Villars* which occasioned the King to recall that Marshal and to send in his Place the Count *de Marfin*; and to prevent Jealousie which had caus'd this Misunderstanding upon the account of the chief Command of the Troops, his Majesty declar'd the Elector Generalissimo.

The King of *France* having conceived great hopes from the War in *Bavaria*, which had cost him such vast Sums, sent the Duke of *Burgundy* with a powerful Army upon the Upper *Rhine* to divert the Arms of the Empire by some considerable Enterprize. The Siege of *Lanaan* was first design'd by favour of some Intelligences which that Prince had in the Town. But these Intelligences being discover'd, the Project vanish'd, and the Duke of *Burgundy* went and made the Siege of *Brisack*, which soon surrendred, being sold to *France*. The Count *d'Arco* who was Governor being found guilty of that Treachery, was Condemn'd to lose his Head, and the 19th of *February* following was brought out of *Bregenz* into the open Field upon the Banks of the *Lack*, where his Sentence

tence was executed; after which his Head and Body were put into a Coffin and transported by night to *Bregentz* in a Coach and 6 Horses, and buried in the Cathedral: The Count *Masfely* who was thought an Accomplice, was degraded, and had his Sword broken by the Hands of the common Hangman. This is the fatal Destiny which they ought to expect who have the trust of Places put into their Hands, and can be prevailed upon to be treacherous to their Sovereigns. This answer'd the Duke of *Burgundy's* Expectations more favourably than his Expedition upon *Nimeguen*, which we have already related. That Prince, after the taking of *Brisack*, return'd to Court and left the command of the Army to Marshal *Tallard*, who having pass'd the *Rhine* undertook the Siege of *Landan*, which occasioned a bloody Battle. The Principal Circumstances of which I shall here relate.

The Allies having consider'd how Important a thing it was to save that Fortrefs made a detachment of 26 Squadrons and 12 Battallions. The Prince Hereditary of *Hesse*, who commanded them, marched with all diligence, and the 13th of *November* join'd the Count de *Nassau Weilbourg* near *Spire*, where he found the *Palatine* Troops: The 14th he was oblig'd to wait the coming up of some other Imperial Troops who were design'd for the relief of that Place; this was a fatal delay, and caus'd the loss of the Battle. That Prince propos'd to attack the *French* Army before *Landan* the 16th; but the 15th in the morning Monsieur de *Pracontel* with his Detachment join'd Marshal *Tallard*. The Confederate Generals being advis'd of this, were very much surpriz'd at the diligence that *Pracontel* had made; and yet more when they saw the *French* Army marching against them. The Count *Nassau* rode immediately to the left Wing of the Army which he commanded; and the Prince of *Hesse* to the right, and rang'd themselves in order of Battle. Count *Nassau* began the attack with abundance of Bravery and Success: But the *French* Troops renewing the Charge, by their Superiority oblig'd the Count to give ground, and routed him. Then the Prince of *Hesse* saw the whole *French* Army upon his Hands, but the Troops, animated by his ex-

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ample, who commanded them with abundance of Bravery, and appear'd every where during the Action, maintain'd their ground with so much Resolution that the *French* were several times repuls'd. A *French* Officer having struck the Prince upon the Head with his Sword by which he lost his Hat, his Highness kill'd him with his own Hand. Marshal *Tallard* was surpris'd at the vigorous resistance that the Prince made, but the Match being unequal, and the left Wing routed, the Prince at last resolv'd to retire, and forcing his way across the Field of Battle towards *Udenhofen* return'd to *Spirebach*. Lieutenant General *Pracontal*, the Marquess *de Lavardin*, whom I formerly accompanied to *Rome* in his famous Embassy to that Court, The Count *de Calvo*, M. *d'Asac* and 6 Colonels were kill'd in this Action. Marshal *Tallard*, who was not accusom'd to gain Battles, writ a Letter to the King, which signified the utmost excess of Joy, as follows.

S I R,

‘ I T is not yet the taking of *Landau* that I have  
 ‘ the Honour to acquaint your Majesty with ; but  
 ‘ it is a Victory more considerable than the taking of  
 ‘ that Important Place. The Prince of *Hesse Cassel*  
 ‘ advanc'd to *Spirebach* with an Army of 30000 Men  
 ‘ to oblige me to raise the Siege ; but before the time  
 ‘ they design'd to attack me, I went out of my Lines,  
 ‘ where M. *Pracontal* had join'd me, and by the dill-  
 ‘ gence and unexpressible Bravery of your Majesty's  
 ‘ Troops, the Enemies Army has been defeated, and  
 ‘ their left Wing entirely ruin'd. Never was a Battle  
 ‘ more bloody, or a Victory more compleat. Your  
 ‘ Majesty will judge better thereon by the Account  
 ‘ hereto annex'd. I shall only add, that the Enemies  
 ‘ have lost on this Occasion abundance of People,  
 ‘ and have left behind 'em six times more than the  
 ‘ Siege has cost us; even to this time ; besides the Ar-  
 ‘ tillery, Ammunition, Tents and Baggage, of all  
 ‘ which they have been scarce able to save any part.  
 ‘ We have taken more Colours and Standards than  
 ‘ your Majesty has lost common Soldiers. I expect to  
 ‘ be to morrow in *Landau*. S I R, I am, &c.

TALLARD,

The

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The King having received the Accounts that the Confederate Generals publish'd, found them to fall far short of the Glory that the Marshal attributed to his Arms. The Cavalry and Dragoons of the Prince of *Hesse* took 6 Standards, 4 Guidons, and 3 pair of Kettle Drums without having lost one on their side. His Majesty had 3000 Soldiers kill'd upon the spot, and a great number of brave Officers who were very much regretted. It was, however, a Glorious Action, gave a fresh Lustre to the progress that the Arms of *France* had made in *Bavaria*, and at the same time distinguish'd Marshal *Tallard*. The Count de *Friese*, Governour of *Landau*, having demanded some hours after the Battle to capitulate; the Marshal for a proof of the Victory that he had obtain'd sent his Son who had been made Prisoner in the Battle.

*Landau* being surrendred to Marshal *Tallard* at the very end of the Campaign, we will now see what this Year afforded upon the Lower *Rhine*, and in *Flanders*. *Rhinburg*, which had been block'd up by Count *Lottum*, General of the *Prussian* Troops, surrendred; the Capitulation being sign'd the 9th of *February* between the said Count and the Marquess de *Grammont* who was Governour. After the reduction of that Place Count *Lottum* block'd up *Guelthers*: *Bonn* was besiegd by the Duke of *Marborough* and the Baron d' *Obdam*, the latter had afterwards the command of the Siege, and General *Coehorn* directed the Attacks. The beginning of the Campaign by this Siege was favourable to the Allies, and at the same time made the King of *France* and his Ministers very uneasy. General *Coehorn*, according to his new method, attack'd the Place with so terrible a Fire from his Artillery, that the Marquess d' *Alegre* was obliged to capitulate the 15th of *May*. The King, who had flatter'd himself with the hopes of a prosperous Campaign, and to that End had made prodigious Preparations, was willing to make use of this time, wherein the greatest part of the Confederate Troops were engag'd at the Siege of *Bonn*. His Majesty orders Marshal *Villeroi* to depart from Court immediately and to put himself at the Head of the Army. I had Orders to follow him in quality of his first Aid de Camp: We arriv'd at

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*Brussels* the 24th of April. All the French Troops which were to compose our Army assembled between *Mons* and *Namur*; 15000 Pioneers and 3000 Waggon's were order'd to be got ready before the 10th of May. Our Orders from Court were to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Liege*. *Villeroy* having begun his March, surpriz'd the little Town of *Tongres*, where we made two Regiments of Infantry Prisoners of War, and made besides a very considerable Booty; we took all the Duke of *Wirtemberg's* Plate, and a considerable Sum of Money which was design'd for the Payment of some Dutch Troops. Upon the report of our March M. d' *Anverquerque* and the other Confederate Generals put themselves in motion to oppose our Design.

M. d' *Alegre* having acquainted the Duke of *Villeroy* that he could not defend *Bonn* longer than to the 12th. The Duke did not think proper to undertake the Siege of the Town and Castle of *Liege*, as we had threatned to do, and as our Orders from Court directed, apprehending that if all the Forces of the Allies should join they would make an Army much superior to ours, and would not fail of coming to attack us: We contented our selves then with making a motion towards *Maestricht*, a piece of pure Ostentation; it is true *Villeroy* pretended to surprize the Confederate Troops that began to assemble there; as we had done the two Regiments at *Tongres*; but that Enterprize miscarried by the prudent Conduct of Monsieur *Anverquerque*, and our Army retir'd to *Tongres*. The Arrival of the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Troops that had made the Siege of *Bonn* gave a new face to Affairs and alter'd the Plan of our Designs. For the Allies having then a powerful Army; made divers motions, in order to oblige M. *Villeroy* to a Battle, who always avoided it, and came and encamp'd with his Army at *Liexremenge* and *Hiers*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, with that of the Allies, posted himself near *Wibona*. Besides these two Armies, the French and the Allies had got two others; the French at *Santuliet*, and the Allies near *Ecluse* under the command of Baron *Spaan*. The French had likewise two flying Camps, one commanded by the

Marquess

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Marquess of *Bedmar*, and another about *Bruges* commanded by the Count *de la Motte*. The Allies detach'd these separate Bodies with a design to attack our Lines, and we the better to defend 'em. General *Cochorn* put himself at the Head of a Detachment of 2500 Men, and pass'd the *Eschant*. Baron *Spaar* perceiving that the Count *de la Motte* observ'd him diligently; to deceive him feign'd a march towards *Bruges*, but returning, march'd directly to the Lines, and attack'd them at *Steken*, where, after a dispute of three hours, the most obstinate and bloody that was ever seen, they forc'd them Sword in Hand. After this Expedition, that General writ a Letter to Monseignours the States, which discovers abundance of Conduct and Bravery.

Baron *Spaar*'s Letter to the States.

*High and Mighty Lords,*

AFTER having endeavour'd to deceive the Count *de la Motte*, I have at last found an opportunity of attacking the Lines of *Waes* this morning between 6 and 7 a clock. The Attack was very sharp and hot. I cannot express the Courage and Zeal of both Officers and Soldiers, which will be sufficiently discover'd hereafter. I have lost a great many brave People, two Brigadiers wounded, poor *Kass. du Sas* kill'd, Colonel *Maulsborg* wounded; two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors, and twelve Captains kill'd or wounded. I have had one slight wound, and my Purse, with only one Pistol therein, has sav'd my Thigh. I have promis'd to each Grenadier a Pistole, and each Pioneer half a one. They have well deserv'd it. I will pay them, with your High and Mightiness's leave, out of the first Money that the Gentlemen of *Waes* bring me. I do not yet know the exact Number of Soldiers that I have lost, which must be very considerable, and I shall learn this Evening. I have the Count *de la Motte* upon my Hands with 14 Battallions and 4 Regiments of Dragoons or Horse; but I don't believe that he has any desire to engage me. I expect this Evening Brigadier *Scretenberg* to join me with 3 Battallions,

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‘ Battallions, and I shall then without doubt have further Orders from General *Coehorn*. All that I can do at present is to maintain my self in my Post, and wait here till I have sent back my wounded, till my Baggage arrives, and till I see what Monsieur *Coehorn* designs, The Officers, who have behav'd themselves very well, I recommend to your High and Mightiness's to be prefer'd. They have merited your Favours. The Troops have exceeded all expectation by their Resolution and Vigour.

‘ We have had 7 Battallions to dispute with, and a Line whose Ditch was like a River, which we were oblig'd to fill up and pass, to take an open Fortification that was well defended and had but one avenue to it. I beg your High and Mightinesses to pardon the Confusion of my Letter, being oblig'd to write upon a Cloak. I am heartily glad of the success of your High and Mightinesses Arms, and am, &c.

From the Lines of

Waes between

Kickenhage &

Steenbrugg the

17th of June

1703.

C. W. Spaar.

P. S. ‘ I believe I have well apprehended Monsieur *Coehorn*'s Designs. I shall do all that's humanely possible to facilitate his Projects.

I have said that General *Coehorn* had pass'd the *Eschat* to attack the Lines in another Place, which he did, and forc'd them at *Callo* with very little loss, putting fire to some Houses there for a Signal to Baron *Spaar*, as they had before agreed. The Body commanded by Baron *Obdam* decamp'd the same night and took Post at *Eckeren*, with a design to amuse the Troops that we had in the Lines of *Antwerp*, and hinder us from making any Detachment for *Flanders*. This Motion that General *Obdam* made occasioned a bloody Battle, wherein I was my self. The Camp of *Eckeren* was very much expos'd, which invited our Generals to attack that little Body which lay in it. The 30th we arrived

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arrived there with a great Detachment from the Grand Army commanded by Marshal *Boufflers*, and were join'd by the Troops which were in the Lines of *Antwerp*, making all together a Body of 32 Squadrons and 33 Battallions. The Confederates were but 13 Battallions and 26 Squadrons, so that we were much superior to them. But to give a just Idea of this Action, which was the most considerable one that this Campaign afforded in the *Low Countries*, I shall recite some Letters which will shew to whom the Victory ought to be attributed.

Extract of a Letter from the Marquess de *Bedmar's* Camp at *Deutenen* near *Antwerp* the 1st of July, 1703.

THE Allies, after having forc'd some Avenues of the Lines of the Country of *Waes*, form'd a Design of coming to force the Lines of *Antwerp*, and attack our Army, advancing from *Stabroeck* posted themselves between *Eckeren* and *Capelle*, to the number of about 6000 effective Men under the command of the Generals *Obdam* and *Tilly*.

The Marquess de *Bedmar* immediately advis'd the Marshals of *Villeroy* and *Boufflers* thereof, who perceiving the Grand Army under the command of the Duke of *Marlborough* at the same time in motion towards *Antwerp*, caus'd that of the two Crowns to march towards *Diest*.

Marshal *Boufflers* putting himself at the head of 30 Squadrons and 30 Companies of Granadiers, march'd with all diligence and arriv'd the 30th in the morning in this Camp, where he concert'd all things with the Marquess de *Bedmar* for attacking the Enemies in their Camp.

The Troops march'd by divers Roads to the Enemy, who did not think of such an unexpected Visit. We began to attack them about 4 a clock in the Afternoon between *Eckeren* and *Capelle*; we charg'd them on all sides with the greatest fury, the Marquess de *Bedmar* with his Army in Front, and Marshal *Boufflers* in Flank. Never was a sharper Combat seen. The Victory was several times doubtful; but

1703. but at last we push'd them on all sides from their Camp, took their Artillery, Ammunition, Baggage and Tents, and pursued them to the Banks of the *Eschat* till eleven a clock at Night.

The Carnage was horrible. The Night favour'd the Enemies Retreat, who sav'd themselves in the Boats and Shalops which they had along the River. The Conquerors remain'd all Night upon the Field of Battle, from whence the Marquess de Bedmar is this Morning return'd to our Camp. If the Marshes, Ditches and Defiles had not hindred our Cavalry from acting very few of the Enemies would have escap'd.

This Victory, and the march of the Count de la Motte with a Body into the Country of *Waes*, has oblig'd General *Cochorn* to leave that Country with great precipitation.

The King of France's Letter to the Cardinal de Noailles.

My Cousin,

THE greatest part of my Forces being employ'd in *Italy*, upon the *Rhine*, and even in the Heart of the Empire; the Enemies have thought that those which I have in *Flanders*, altho' join'd with the Troops of *Spain*, would not be able to resist the numerous Army which they have assembled. Flatter'd with these hopes, and puffed up by their Superiority, they have, since the beginning of the Campaign, haughtily threatned the most considerable Places of the *Spanish Flanders*. But my Cousin the Marshal Duke of *Villeroy*, from whose Vigilance they have not been able to conceal any of their Motions, knowing that they had forc'd the Lines of the Country of *Waes*, and had design'd the same upon those of *Anwerp*, and considering of what Importance it was to send Succours to the Army of my Cousin the Marquess de Bedmar, Commander General of the *Spanish Low-Countries*; he resolv'd so to do in concert with my Cousin the Marshal Duke of *Boufflers*, who put himself at the Head of 15 Squadrons of Cavalry, the like number of Dragoons and 1500 Granadiers, and arriv'd in

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in that Camp with incredible diligence the 30th of the last Month. In spite of the advantageous situation of the Post that the Enemy were possess'd of, and the superiority of their Infantry. My Troops march'd immediately to 'em, and after a very bloody and stubborn Fight, which continu'd from four a clock in the Afternoon till late at Night, they were oblig'd to retire with precipitation and abandon the Field of Battle, their wounded, their Tents, their Baggage, 6 pieces of Cannon, 44 Mortars, their Ammunition, Provisions, 150 Waggons, many Colours and Drums, with the loss of 4000 Men kill'd upon the spot, and 500 made Prisoners. The Success of an Action so Glorious, and which has broken the Enemies Projects, is equally due to the Conduct of the Generals and Bravery of the Troops, but yet more to the visible Protection with which it has pleas'd God continually to favour my Arms. And as it is just to render him publick Thanks which are due to him, I write you this Letter, to tell you that my Will is that you cause *Te Deum* to be sung in the Metropolitan Church of my good City of *Paris* upon such a day and hour as the Grand Master or the Master of the Ceremonies shall on my part direct you, with assuring my self that you will perform with your usual Piety. I pray God to have you, my Cousin, in his Holy Protection.

Writ from Versailles the 11th  
of July, 1703.

Sign'd

LOUIS.

and lower

Philippeaux.

On the Part of the Allies we will recite here M. Slangenbourg's Letter to the States.

High and Mighty Lords.

After that, by Order of your High and Mightinesses, your Army under the command of the Baron d'Obdam was diminish'd to 13 Battallions and 26 Squadrons, and that 'twas likewise thought proper that this little Army should march from the Camp

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~

‘ Camp at *Strabrock* towards *Eckeren*; Count *Tilly* and my self represented the ill situation of a Camp there with so small a number of Troops, being but three quarters of a League from the Enemies Line; who, according to the report of General *Coebern*, were able to assemble 50 Battallions that they had posted from *Lier* to *Ostend*, besides that, they might be reinforc'd from their Grand Army, whereas we had no Succours to expect upon an exigency, even not from the Troops that General *Coebern* commanded.

‘ Count *Tilly* and my self further represented, That the Enemy being superior to us there, they might at any time cut off our Retreat; and having repeated advice that the Enemy were stronger in their Lines than we in our Army, and that our Grand Army had march'd on the other side of the *Yecker*, as also that of the Enemy which was advanced as far as *Tirlemont*, and that we had besides, advice that the Enemy expected Reinforcements in their Lines, we have not been able to obtain any thing more from all these Remonstrances, than that our heavy Baggage might be sent to *Bergem-op-Zoom*, which was sent away the same morning, about the same time that Marshal *Boufflers* arriv'd in his Lines with a considerable Body of Cavalry and Dragoons, and, according to the report of Prisoners, 70 Companies of Granadiers; who, without loss of time drawing all the Troops together out of their Lines with the Marquess de *Bedmar*, Prince *Serclas*, Marshal *Pilleroys*'s Son, and several other General Officers, march'd with incredible diligence, and having posted an Ambuscade of Dragoons before our left Wing, advanc'd with the gross of their Army to *Capelle*, which is on the back part of our Camp, before we had the least advice of their March, or of their Design. We should not have had any Intelligence of 'em before we had been surrounded; if Count *Tilly*, my self, and some of our Major Generals, going a little out of our Camp, had not met the Ambuscade of Dragoons about one a clock very near our great Guard of Cavalry. We all discovering the said Ambuscade believ'd the Enemy design'd to attack

attack us; we put our Troops under Arms and in-  
 form'd M. *Obdam* of what we had done. A Guard  
 that was upon the Tower of *Eckeren* Church at the  
 same time advis'd us, that the Enemy appear'd  
 with a great force about *Capelle*, and that they con-  
 tinued to advance. Monsieur *Obdam* resolv'd there-  
 upon to retire under *Lillo*, and order'd two Squa-  
 drons of Dragoons to possess themselves of the Post  
 of *Howen* to cover the March of the Army. Whilst  
 Monsieur d' *Obdam* was busie in disposing the Troops  
 for their March, we had advice that the Enemy  
 were advanc'd to *Howen*, and had push'd back the  
 two Squadrons of Dragoons, by which our retreat  
 to *Lillo* was cut off. Brigadier *Schulemburgh* was  
 detach'd in the beginning with two Regiments of  
*Saxe Gotha* to take post at *Muisbrock* and *Gekug* on  
 this side *Howen* to cover our Retreat. But being  
 arriv'd there he found that Post well guarded by  
 the Dragoons and Granadiers, and their Forces be-  
 ing much superior he thought fit to retreat, and at-  
 tempt to seize the Post of *Houteren*; but he found  
 the Enemies also possess'd of that, which oblig'd him  
 to go to *Weteringh* between *Houteren* and *Muisbrock*.  
 It was resolv'd thereupon to attack the Enemy,  
 and oblige 'em to retire if it were possible; but  
 they were already so strongly posted that 'twas im-  
 possible to do it. But the Enemy, on the contrary,  
 advanc'd to us, and vigorously attack'd Monsieur d'  
*Elberfeld*, Major General of the Troops of *Mun-*  
*ster*, and began a furious Combat with the Infantry  
 about 3 a clock in the Afternoon.

Seeing the great superiority of the Enemy we  
 were oblig'd to alter our Design, and expose our  
 selves to a terrible Fire of their Muskets. Monsieur  
*Obdam* and Count *Tilly*, who were upon the Road  
 with the Cavalry, upon the Dike that leads to *Wil-*  
*lemerdonck*, were willing to continue their March  
 opposite to *Houteren* along the Dikes of the *Eschat*  
 to retire to *Lillo*; but when they arriv'd at *Houteren*  
 they found the Enemy advanc'd and possess'd of that  
 Post, but were forc'd from it by our Regiments.  
 The Infantry nevertheless continued the Charge be-  
 tween *Howen* and *Eckeren*, which lasted with a con-  
 tinual

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' continual Fire on both sides till 8 a clock in the Evening  
 ' especially along the Dike which is between *Eckeren*  
 ' and *Willemerdonck*, where Lieutenant General *Fagel*  
 ' and the Majors General *Frisem* and *Elberfeld* have  
 ' given Marks of their Valour and Conduct which  
 ' cannot be too much admir'd; Lieutenant General  
 ' *Fagel* being wounded in the Head and Foot, and  
 ' those Regiments not being supported, the Enemy  
 ' seeing that we wanted Infantry, took this occasion  
 ' to oblige those Troops to retire that were posted at  
 ' *Honteren*, and became again Masters of that Post  
 ' and some Sluices that are near it, between that  
 ' Village and *Kruyschans*; and by that means we found  
 ' our selves surrounded on all sides, having behind us  
 ' the Town of *Antwerp* and the Enemies Line, and  
 ' on the Left Fort *Philipine* and the *Eschant*, which  
 ' oblig'd me to send to Monsieur *Obdam* and Count  
 ' *Tilly*, to consult together how we might best force  
 ' a passage out of this Labyrinth. I was answer'd  
 ' that Monsieur *Obdam* had been absent some time,  
 ' and Count *Tilly* coming to me told me he thought  
 ' he was dead or made Prisoner.

' Upon this we resolv'd to make the most vigorous  
 ' Attempts we could: Count *Tilly* detach'd some Ca-  
 ' valry under Major General *Hompesch* to support the  
 ' Infantry along the Dike, which had been a long  
 ' time engag'd in a most bloody manner; and the  
 ' French Cavalry had done the same thing to support  
 ' their Infantry. Major General *Hompesch* upon this  
 ' occasion conducted the Cavalry with so much Pru-  
 ' dence and Bravery that several French Squadrons  
 ' were forc'd, from whom we took some Standards  
 ' and Kettle Drums; several Battallions were put to  
 ' the rout, and the Enemy push'd back above a quar-  
 ' ter of a League.

' Brigadier *Wyke*, and all the other Brigadiers and  
 ' Colonels having spent their Powder and Ball, caus'd  
 ' their Bayonets to be fix'd to the Mouths of their  
 ' Muskets to pursue the Enemy. As the Battle was  
 ' obstinate and bloody, all the way along the Dike,  
 ' and thereabouts was cover'd with dead and wounded  
 ' Men.

' I then took Post upon the Key of a Canal join-  
 ' ing

1703.

ing to the Dike, where I put two Battallions, and the Cavalry behind to maintain it to the last Extremity, in case the first Troops should happen to be broken, and for the security of the rest of the Regiments which were expected in the Night.

But the Enemy was so much disorder'd that they had no desire to renew the fight there, they tried during the heat of the Attack which I have just now spoke of, to force us behind, having caus'd four Battallions of *Antwerp*, and of *Fort la Croix* to attack us on the side of the Village, and along another Dike of *Willemerdonk*: But as they found that Post well defended they retir'd, being oblig'd there to by the terrible Fire of our Troops; so that design was not of much use to them, but the night coming on, and we finding our selves invested on all sides, we were oblig'd to force our passage Sword in Hand. The Enemies posselt the Post of *Houteren*, and several others about the Sluices, which cut off our communication with *Lillo*; and as Monsieur *Hop* was near me, and also Count *Tilly*, we resolv'd to attack that Post with the utmost vigour, altho' the Infantry wanted Powder and Ball; so that they were oblig'd to attack the Enemy with their Bayonets in the Muzzels of their Muskets.

Major General *Freisheim*, and *C. de Donna* a Brigadier, were detach'd with 4 Battallions, and march'd over ground travers'd with Ditches, where they were forc'd to wade up to their middle in Water to attack the Enemy in the Flank, and behind that Post. We caus'd also some Regiments to advance along that Dike, and Count *Tilly* march'd with some Squadrons of Dragoons, after having fired several Cannon shots upon that Post, so that the Enemy was attack'd with the utmost vigour in Flank, Front and Behind, and oblig'd not only to abandon that Post, from whence we drove them, but we also push'd them from the Sluices, where they were intrench'd; we pursued them as far as *Fort la Croix*, which open'd us a passage along the Dikes to *Lillo*, where we retir'd in good order, and arrived there yesterday morning, and are there still encamp'd.

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I can assure your High and Mightinesses that all the Troops, Cavalry, Infantry and Dragoons have fought with exceeding Bravery, and that Lieutenant General *Egel*, as well as all the other Generals, have behav'd themselves in this sharp Engagement with a wonderful Conduct, and have no other charge than the loss of so many brave People. There are some Prisoners, and many wounded, of whom I shall send you a List by the next Courier. We have taken some Standards, Drums and Colours, and my Regiment has taken one piece of Cannon and one Colour. I hope your High and Mightinesses will consider the little number of Troops that our Army consisted of, and also that the Enemy was double our strength, and that their loss is much greater than ours, being almost all retir'd in Confusion, having left the Field of Battle. And that on the contrary we are retir'd here in good order. My advice, Count *Tilly's*, and all the other Generals that were present, never was to expose our selves in so disadvantageous a Camp, which ought also to give your High and Mightinesses the greater Satisfaction upon this occasion, and will further augment the Reputation of your High and Mightinesses Troops.

I have forgot to tell you, that Major General Count *d' Oest Frise*, and the Count *Vander Nat* have very much distinguish'd themselves upon this occasion; and that Colonel *Toois* has always assisted me, and serv'd with abundance of Care, Bravery, and Good Council, not doubting but that your High and Mightinesses will be mindful of their Merits. Monsieur *Egel* is embark'd this day to have his Wounds the better taken care of. General *Coeborn* came to *Lillo* the same night, after the Battle with some Regiments of Foot, but he sent them back the same day under the command of Major General *Dedem*. High and Mighty Lords, I am, &c,

From the Army near  
Lillo, the 2d of Ju-  
ly, 1703.

F. B. v. Barr.

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The King's Letter to the Cardinal de Noailles, 1703. vouches sufficiently to incline one to attribute a compleat Victory to the Arms of the two Crowns at the Battle of *Eckeren*. If his Majesty is not sincere in the recital that he has made of that bloody Action, the fault is in part to be imputed to his Generals, and in part to the Marchioness of *Maintenon*, and his Ministers: That Ingenious Favourite had order'd the Court to bring the Dispatches brought by Couriers into her Chamber before they were carried to the King: That she might for the sake of his Majesty's Health soften, and by degrees advise the King of any bad News, which had too often found their way to Court in the preceding Campaign, and had disorder'd his Majesty: When the Account of the Battle of *Eckeren* came to *Versailles*, the Marshal *Boufflers* had not only writ things more than he ought to his Advantage, but the Marchioness of *Maintenon*, being a Woman of Wit, gave it likewise such a favourable turn that it appear'd much the brighter in that Monarch's Eyes. Our Generals had not done any thing on that side a long time; it seem'd as if Fortune had intirely abandon'd his Majesty's Arms; and the preceding Campaign had been more fatal to *France* than can well be imagin'd. The Affair of *Eckeren* came very seasonable to comfort the King for the loss of so many Towns; and to make that Action appear with all the Lustre of a compleat Victory, the Court made no scruple to add, that the Enemies were superior in Infantry, advantageously posted, oblig'd to abandon the Field of Battle, their Wounded, Tents, Baggage, 6 pieces of Cannon, 44 Mortars, their Ammunition, Provisions, 150 Artillery Waggons, several Colours and Drums with the loss of 4000 Men upon the spot, and 500 made Prisoners, &c. But as it is not the first time that the Truth has been disguis'd in *France*, to impose upon the People, I shall only add, that Marshal *Boufflers* did nothing worthy of notice, and that we were oblig'd to abandon the Field of Battle: I was posted in the Village of *Houteren*, where I was wounded in the Arm with a Musket Ball; that was the Post whereon the gain of the Battle principally depended, and we were forc'd from thence; which I was an

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Eye-witness of Marshal *Blauius*'s Army was at least 30000 Men. the greatest part of our chosen Troops, a great many General Officers, and young French Lords accompanied him : the first to assist him, and the latter to acquire Glory, and signalize themselves. We engag'd an Army that could not exceed 10000 Men : If the Marshal had known how to make use of these Advantages, he would not have suffer'd one Man amongst the Enemies to have escap'd. But the Conduct that he held in that Engagement was generally disapprov'd of by every one that understood the business of War. I must do this Justice to the Confederate Troops, and to the Officers who commanded them, they fought with such Courage and Resolution as has given us an Idea of the Dutch Bravery, quite different from what we have formerly had ; and the relation that Monsieur *Slangenburgh* has given upon the Battle seems to me more faithful than all those that have been given in France, where there has been more regard to the Glory of the King than the Truth of the Fact. That General retiring to *Lille* after the Battle, drew up his Troops, and gave them thanks in the behalf of the States, in these Terms, ' Their High  
' and Mightinesses the States General, and their  
' Mightinesses the Nobles of the Council of State,  
' have order'd me, in their Names, to thank the Officers high and low, and the Soldiers, for the Bravery, Courage and Zeal, which you have shewn  
' the 30th of June in the Battle so well known to  
' you : I have Orders to tell you that they will upon  
' all Occasions testify their Acknowledgments to you  
' for the same.

After the Battle of *Eckeren*, the King was so well satisfied with the Advantages which his Arms had gain'd, that he order'd his Generals to risque nothing more during that Campaign. But the Allies, willing to have satisfaction done 'em for the Affair of *Eckeren*, join'd their three Armies together with a design to offer Battle to the Marshal *Villeroy*, who recall'd also the several Bodies which he had detach'd, came boldly and encamp'd near *St. Job*, rang'd us in order of Battle, and gave out that he was resolv'd to wait there for the Duke of *Marleborough*. The Duke and General

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*Auverquerque* hoping he would be as good as his Word, march'd with the Army under their command in several Columns to *Hoogstraet*, which was but half a League from our Camp; we prepar'd in good earnest for the Battle, according to *Villeroy's* Orders. General *Slangembourg* decamping from *Lillo*, march'd all night, and arriv'd early in the morning between *Eckeren* and *Capelle* to attack us on that side. The Duke of *Marlborough* with his Army advanc'd in a great Plain over against ours, and caus'd four pieces of Cannon to be fired for a Signal to General *Slangembourg*, to let him know that 'twas time to begin the Attack; but *Villeroy* not thinking it proper to venture a Battle, or rather regulating himself to his Orders from Court, set fire to our Camp, and order'd the French Army to retire within the Lines. The Allies seeing it impossible to come to a set Battle with *Villeroy*, resolv'd to finish the Campaign with the Sieges of *Huy* and *Limbourg*, which Places surrendred by Capitulation; the Town of *Guelders* was bombarded, and capitulated also.

I shall conclude this Campaign with an Account of two Enterprizes that our Generals made upon two considerable Places wherein they had secret Intelligence; one was the Fortrefs of *Juliers*, the other the Town of *Graves*. Monsieur *Chamillard* writ to me upon that Subject to engage me to enter into that Conspiracy, and assist the French Officers who had undertaken to effect it: The Marshals *Villeroy* and *Boufflers* did also earnestly solicit me to it. I return'd an Answer to Monsieur *Chamillard*, wherein I desir'd him to excuse me for the same reasons that I had advanc'd on the Plot of *Grandval*, and that of the Duke of *Berwick*, which I have already spoken of. It was indeed a happiness for me that I was excus'd; the Enterprizes upon *Juliers* and *Graves* were discover'd, and the Persons who were employ'd therein became Victims to their Imprudence.

The Campaign ended without any further Action, and I return'd to Court with the Generals and Officers of our Army. All the chief Generals of the Kings Armies were call'd to assist at a Council of War to be held upon the Projects of the next Campaign.

1703. The King, the Marchioness of *Maintenon*, and our Ministers seem'd very well satisfied with the progress of our Arms in the last Campaign. The Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal *Villars* had beat Count *Styrum* at *Schemmingen*. Marshal *Tallard* had obtained a Victory at *Spirebach*, and taken *Landau*. Marshal *Villeroi* was highly applauded for having so well conducted the Army, as to preserve the Lines, and avoid coming to a General Battle with the Duke of *Marlborough*, who endeavour'd all he could to engage him to it. Marshal *Bautfiers* was look'd upon as the Hero of the Campaign in *Flanders*, and according to the talk at Court had done Wonders at the Battle of *Ekeren*. These prosperous successes comforted the King after the loss of so many Towns that the Allies had made themselves Masters of the preceding Campaign, and dissipated the chagrin which the destruction of his Fleet, and the Gallies at *Nigo*, had caus'd. The Affairs of *France* would have been in a condition happy enough if the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy* had not declar'd themselves in favour of the Allies. This brought new Perplexities to Court, and we even then foresaw such effects from 'em that made the two Kings very uneasy. The Admirant of *Castile* was on one side retir'd into *Portugal*, and had writ to the Emperor, shewing him the necessity of sending the Arch-Duke into that Kingdom: The Reasons that he advanc'd, join'd to the Instances of the Queen of *England*, and Messieurs the States General appear'd so weighty to the Court of *Vienna*, that they resolv'd immediately to declare the Arch-Duke King of *Spain*, and send him into *Portugal*.

This new Monarch arriv'd at the *Hague* the 3d of *October* 1703. where he made some stay, waiting for a favourable Wind to embark. On the other side, the Duke of *Savoy* writ to the Queen of *England* and Messieurs the States to pray 'em to send him necessary Succours to carry on the War in *Italy* against the two Crowns.

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The Duke of Savoy's Letter to the States General of the United Provinces.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE Jealousies of France against us, upon our espousing the Common Cause, has induc'd her to treat us with an unheard of Violence, contrary to all sorts of good Faith; having disarm'd and made Prisoners all our Officers and Soldiers which were in the Army of the two Crowns in Italy. We inform your High Mightinesses therewith, being well pleas'd that a Treatment of this nature, gives us an opportunity of shewing you the desire that we have to join our selves to the Allies, depending upon your Friendship in assisting us with all necessary succours, vigorously to maintain so just a Cause, for which we are ready to sacrifice all that belongs to us; and wishing you all sort of Prosperity, we pray you to believe that we are with all sincerity,

High and Mighty Lords, your most Affectionate Friend  
Turin, October the 8th, 1703.

Victor Amadeus.

The number of the Enemies of France increasing, 'twas necessary that our Ministers should think of means of providing for the immense Charge of a War which was become thus burthensome. There was a necessity of putting new Armies on foot, and of raising Recruits to repair the Losses that had been sustain'd in Italy, Bavaria, the Upper and Lower Rhine, Flanders, and Spain; not mentioning the War of the Cevennes, which made the Court most uneasy, lest it should cause Insurrections in other Provinces of the Kingdom. To Face the Allies and carry on the War with Success, 'twas resolv'd that 18 new Regiments of Cavalry and 30 of Infantry should be rais'd: Besides that the Court publish'd an Order, by which the Parishes of the Provinces, and the Generalities of the Kingdom were to furnish 30000 Men to recruit the Infantry.

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fantry. By this Ordinance there was an exemption of Taxes granted for five years to those who should enter themselves, and serve three Years, and in case those Persons that were appointed to serve should refuse, they should be sent to the Gallies. This method of forcing the People to bear Arms in the King's Troops, under pain of being sent to the Gallies, appear'd so new that it rendred his Majesty extremely odious to all France. It was resolv'd upon that new Forces should be sent into Italy.

The Duke of Berwick, in hopes that his presence would favour the Desertion of the *English* was nam'd to go to in Spain with 20 Squadrons and 25 Battalions. The War of *Bavaria* having been consider'd in Council as an Affair of the greatest Importance, it was resolv'd that it should be powerfully supported, and that Marshal Tallard should be sent thither with a formidable Army. To put an end to the War of the *Cevennees*, where Marshal Montrevel was become odious by his Cruelties, there was a Project form'd of sending Marshal Villars to endeavour to bring over by favour *Cavalier*, who was their Chief.

The Campaign of 1703. being ended, the King of France writ a Letter to the Elector of *Bavaria* to felicitate him upon the prosperous Success that his Arms had had, and at the same time to encourage him with the hopes of new Conquests. To animate that Prince, who breathed after nothing but Glory, and was inflam'd with a desire of ruining the Empire, his Majesty promis'd to send him an Army of choice Troops early in the Spring. He added, that his Electoral Highness ought to attempt something even in the Winter, and take the advantage of the absence of the Imperialists, who enjoying themselves in their Winter Quarters, would leave him a clear Stage. The Elector follow'd this advice, caus'd his Army to march towards *Ausburgh* resolv'd to besiege that Place. He gain'd the attack the 6th of December 1703. with 130 pieces of Cannon, and 45 Mortars, but what facilitated the Reduction of that Place was an intercepted Letter, which advis'd General Bibra who commanded there, that he had no Succours to expect. His Electoral Highness dexterously made use of this Letter

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to shorten the Siege, and put an end to an Expedition which he had long before projected. He sent this Letter to the Governor by the same Person that he had taken it from, and order'd him at the same time to let the Governor know that if he defer'd the surrender of the Place he would reduce it to Ashes with his Bombs, and put the Garrison to the Sword. The Governor capitulated the 14th, and his Highness caus'd 10 Squadrons and 6 Battallions of French Troops to enter, who were lodg'd with the Magistrates and Burghers, and committed such Violences as rendred the Elector very odious, and made him esteem'd the Tyrant of Germany. The Court of France, who had recall'd Marshal Villars, and sent the Count of Marfin in his Place, thought fit to advance the latter to the dignity of a Marshal of France to give more Respect and Lustre to his Command. Marfin expected nothing less than this eminent Advancement, and was very much surpriz'd when the Elector gave him a Letter from the King, who call'd him *My Cousin the Marshal de Marfin*. After the taking of *Ausburgh*, the Elector, willing to push his conquest further, caus'd his Army to march against *Passau*, and told the Inhabitants, that if they would not surrender without putting him to the trouble of attacking them, he would reduce their Town into Ashes. At these Threats, the Cardinal de Lamberg, Bishop and Prince of *Passau*, deputed four Counts to the Elector's Army, and the Capitulation was sign'd without any delay. This Expedition was about the beginning of *January*, and was followed by another, by which means his Electoral Highness flatter'd himself with putting all that Country under Contribution. To this end he march'd his Army along the *Danube* as far as *Enz* in *Austria*; but the Peasants having taken up Arms oppos'd his Designs. Marshal Marfin on the other side became Master of several little Places in *Swabia* between the *Danube* and the *Neckar*, and the *Bavarians* took the Town of *Newmarck*. If the Elector had cause to complain of the Haughtiness of Marshal Villars, which caus'd him to desire the King to recall him: He had no more reason to praise the Conduct of Marfin, who authoriz'd the Violences that the French committed in *Bavaria* instead

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instead of suppressing them; but considering that the change of *French* Generals had not made his Condition better, he resolv'd to conform himself to the last, being thoroughly perswaded that he would do nothing but with the Orders of the *French* Court. The Allies seeing the progress that the Elector made, endeavour'd all they could to oppose him. Messieurs the States General writ to the Princes of the Empire, and made pressing Instances to all the Courts of *Germany* to induce them to arm themselves powerfully against the common Enemy of their Country. A Council of War was held at *Coblenz*, where the Deputies of the Electors, and other Princes of the Empire, assembled. The Fortifications of the Places most expos'd were repair'd, and all possible precautions were taken to prevent the Storm. The Elector and the *French* Generals on their side made vast Preparations: the Island opposite to Fort *Kehl* was fortified, as also *Huninguen* and *Neubourg*. Magazines were laid up at *Landsau* and Fort *Lévin*. Marshal *Tallard* being arriv'd at *Strasbourg* assembled the Army which was to pass into *Bavaria*. I had Orders from Court to make the Campaign with that General, with which I was very well satisfied. As I had particularly well known Marshal *Tallard* at the time the Treaty of Partition was negotiating, I was overjoy'd to serve under him: Besides the Affection that he honour'd me with, I found in him a temper much more agreeable to me than that of Marshal *Müller* or *Boufflers*, which I could not relish since the last Campaign; I had besides a secret desire to see again the Elector, who had shewn me so many Civilities at *Brussels*, and whose Affairs I had some management of at the Court of *France*.

To come to our passage into *Bavaria*, I must say that since I undertook the business of War I have never hid Post so much as I did at that time, to deceive the Imperial Generals, who were possess'd of the Passes with divers Bodies of Troops. Marshal *Tallard* made several Feints; and to do him justice, the King never had a General more Active nor more Vigilant; he made several Motions with his Army sometimes towards *Landsau* and *Strasbourg*, and sometimes towards *Huninguen*, as if he design'd to attempt his passage there.

there. Whilst he was making these Marches and Countermarches, the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal *Marsin* came with their whole Army towards the sources of the *Danube*, and arriving at the Enemies Lines found them abandon'd; and General *Thungen* with his Troops retir'd towards *Rothmeyl*. The French and *Bavarians* went and encamp'd between *Tutlingen* and *Willingen*, with a resolution to give *Thungen* Battle: But he having received the Troops which the Duke of *Wirtemberg* and Count *Syrum* brought him, put himself at the Head of 117 Squadrons and 48 Battallions, resolving in his turn to come and attack the Elector and *Marsin*, and thereby hinder the Conjunction of our Armies. As the Imperial Generals were just ready to execute this Project, they receiv'd Orders from the Prince of *Baden*, who was absent, to defer the Battle till his arrival. But Marshal *Tallard*, without any loss of time, caus'd his Army to pass over a Bridge above *Strasbourg*, and marching by the way of *Hoblengraben* and *Kalcherberg*, we came to *Willingen*, where the Conjunction of our Troops was made the 17th of *May* with the Elector's Army. We admir'd at our arrival the good fortune that his Electoral Highness had had in not being attack'd by the Imperialists before our Conjunction: For if the Elector and *Marsin* had been beat, Marshal *Tallard* would have found himself in miserable Circumstances. *Willingen* however being invested defended it self vigorously, and the Prince of *Baden* in the mean time arriving march'd to give the Elector Battle: But the opportunity was now lost, the Elector not thinking it proper to wait his coming decamp'd in all hast, and march'd to *Ulm*. The Duke of *Marlborough* seeing all the Motions that the Imperial Generals made could not hinder our Conjunction, resolv'd to come to the relief of the Empire with an Army of 50000 Men. That General, who has acquir'd so much Reputation and Glory in the Campaign of *Bavaria*, form'd this Project at the latter end of the preceding Campaign. He saw that the Marshals *Villeroy* and *Boufflers* kept themselves close within their Lines in *Brabant*, and that 'twas impossible to bring them to a Battle. He saw that *France*, by the great Succours which the

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1704 gave the Elector, would ruin all *Germany*, and oblige at last the Emperor to leave his Capital.

My Lord Duke, at his return to *London*, represented all these Reasons to the Court of *England*; the Imperial Ambassador vigorously seconded them by the new Instances that he made to the Queen, signifying, That if the Empire was not speedily assisted, all the Dominions which it was compos'd of would be forc'd to submit to the Arms of *France*; That the most Christian King, and the King of *Spain* his Grandson, would enable the Elector of *Bavaria* to force the Emperor to renounce the Pretensions that he had to the Crown of *Spain*, by disabling him to continue the War by the destruction of his Dominions: That since the War which was undertaken requir'd the defence of these Pretensions upon the Succession, it was the Interest of the Allies to prevent the destruction of those Dominions by the numerous Armies that would attack them, not only upon the Confines, but even in the very Bosom of the Empire. That so long as the Diversion of the Elector of *Bavaria* should continue, it could not be expected that the Confederate Army would make any Progress: That thereby the two Kings would obtain their End, which was, to transfer the Seat of the War out of their own Dominions into those of their Enemies: That if all the Troops which were in *Bavaria* were not able now to stop the Excursions of a Prince who wag'd War with so much Cruelty, to what a miserable State would the Empire be reduc'd if once that Prince should come to join the Rebels of *Hungary*, &c.

The Queen of *England* and Monsieurs the States having approved of this Expedition, 'twas executed with so much Secrecy and Conduct, that the King and his Ministers knew nothing of it till the Duke of *Marlborough* was upon his March. They flatter'd themselves at Court that the Marshals *Villeroy* and *Boufflers* would amuse all the Confederate Forces in *Flanders* as they had done the preceding Campaign, and to that end the King prescrib'd the same Orders and the same Conduct. But this Expedition of my Lord Duke overturn'd the Plan which the King and his

his Ministers had form'd, and gave a new Face to Affairs. The Elector of *Bavaria* and the Marshals *Tallard* and *Marfin*, who had conceived such great Hopes from the flourishing Army which the King had sent into *Bavaria*, could not tell what to think of so many strange Troops upon their full March into the Empire, commanded by such able Generals. The King immediatly sends Orders to Marshal *Villeroy* to follow the Duke of *Marlborough* with a Body of 20000 Men to go to the assistance of the Elector of *Bavaria*, or to make a powerful diversion in his favour upon the *Rhine*. The Allies, to deceive our Generals, gave out, at the beginning of the Campaign, that they resolv'd to form an Army near the *Moselle* to act on that side. To that End one part of their Troops were drawn together about *Ruremond* and *Venlo*, and the other came and encamp'd between *Liege* and *Maastricht*; the former were design'd for the Camp in *Bavaria*, and the latter to act in *Brabant* under the command of the Velt Marshal *Anverquerque*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, after he had din'd with the Confederate Generals went for *Cologne*, all the Troops that were to follow him being then in motion. Having pass'd the *Neckar* at *Hailbron* with his Army he came and encamp'd at *Heppach*, where the Prince of *Baden*, Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Wirttemburgh*, and the other Imperial Generals came to confer with him upon the Operations of the Campaign. Prince *Eugene* was overjoy'd to see my Lord Duke, for whom he had always conceived a very particular Esteem, and my Lord Duke on his side return'd him all the Honours and Civilities due to so great a Captain. These two Generals contracted in this Interview such a mutual Friendship as much contributed to the glorious Success of the Allies in *Bavaria*. 'Twas agreed upon that the two Armies should join, and that the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* should command day by day alternately; and that Prince *Eugene* should go upon the *Rhine* to command a separate Army.

The Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal *Marfin* seeing the Plan that their Enemies had form'd, thought it advisable to make choice of a Camp which would protect

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protect them from a general Battle; having therefore left 2000 Men at *Cunsborough* to dispute the passage of the *Allies* over the *Danube*; they came with their Army and encamp'd the 23d of *June* between *Lavingen* and *Dillingen*. Marshal *Mursin* advis'd the Elector to attack the Prince of *Baden* before he was join'd with the Duke of *Marlborough*; but his Highness did not think proper to come to an Action before Marshal *Tallard* was return'd with the powerful Succours which he was to bring him.

Whilst the Confederate Armies made these Motions, M. *Külleröy*, who was arriv'd at *Landau*, confer'd with M. *Tallard* upon the means of giving speedy Succours to the Elector of *Bavaria*, before he was suppress'd by the great number of Troops which were entering into his Dominions. These two Marshals had an Army of near 60000 Men upon the *Rhine*; and the King had sent them Orders to use their utmost endeavour to succour his Highness. The Confederate Generals seeing the Elector retir'd into a Camp, where it was impossible to force him; my Lord Duke of *Marlborough* was of Opinion that they ought to march on the side of *Donauert*, and open there a passage into *Bavaria*; notwithstanding the Post of *Schellernberg* was well fortified by Intrenchments, and guarded by a considerable Body of Troops command'd by the Count *d'Arco*; that Post was vigorously attack'd and at last forc'd. But to give a just Idea of the attack of that Post which was the prelude of the Misfortunes which follow'd the Elector of *Bavaria's* Arms, we shall insert here the Duke of *Marlborough's* and General *Hompesch's* Letters to the States General.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* Letter to Messieurs the States.

High and Mighty Lords,  
 Upon our arrival at *Onderingen* on Tuesday, I understood that the Elector of *Bavaria* had detach'd the best of his Foot to guard the Post of *Schellernberg*, where he had been casting up Intrenchments for some days; because it was a Post of great Importance; therefore I resolv'd to attack him there,

there, and march'd yesterday morning by 3 a clock at the Head of a Detachment of 6000 Foot, and 30 Squadrons of your Troops, and 3 Battallions of Imperial Grenadiers; whereupon the Army began their March to follow us; but the way being very long and bad we could not get to the *Wernz* till about noon, and 'twas full 3 a clock before we could lay Bridges for our Troops and Cannon, so that all things being ready, we attack'd them about 6 in the Evening; the Attack lasted a full hour; the Enemies defended themselves very vigorously, and were very strongly intrench'd, but at last were oblig'd to give way to the Valour of our Men, and the good God has given us a compleat Victory.

We have taken 15 pieces of Cannon with all their Tents and Baggage. The Count *d'Arco* and the other Generals that commanded them were oblig'd to save themselves by swimming over the *Danube*. I heartily wish your High Mightinesses good Success from this happy beginning, which is so glorious for the Arms of the Allies, and from which I hope, by the assistance of Heaven, we may reap many Advantages.

We have lost many brave Officers, and we cannot enough bewail the loss of the *Sieurs Goor and Baishheim*, who were kill'd in this Action. The Prince of *Baden* and General *Thungen* are slightly wounded. Count *Styrum* has received a wound cross his Body, but 'tis hop'd he will recover. The Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, and the Count *de Horn* Lieutenant General, Major General *Wood*, and *M. de Pallant* have also been wounded. I cannot yet give your High and Mightinesses a more ample account, but I will not fail to send it you the first Opportunity.

A little before the Attack began, the Baron *de Moltenberg*, Prince *Engen's* Adjutant General, came to inform us from his Highness, that the Marshals *Villeroy* and *Tallard* were march'd to *Strasbourg*, having promis'd a great Reinforcement to the Elector by the *Black Forest*; and I have Advice from other Hands, that they design him a Body

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Troops.

From the Camp  
at Ubermagen  
the 3d of July,  
1703.

The Duke of Marlborough.

P. S. The Detachment was sustain'd by 15 Battallions of the Right, and as many of the Left Wing.

Lieutenant General *Hompesch* writ at the same time a Letter to the States upon this Subject; and as his Letter gives a more Circumstantial Account of this Bloody Action, it will not be amiss to insert it in this Place.

Lieutenant General *Hompesch's* Letter to their High Mightinesses upon the Battle of *Donawert*.

High and Mighty Lords,

I Cannot omit giving you an Account of the Advantage we have gain'd by the Favour and Blessing of God, over our Enemies at *Donawert*; and sending the Aid de Camp, who was with me upon this Occasion, to give a more ample Account of those things which you shall be pleas'd to ask him.

The Army march'd yesterday from *Hermerdingen*, 6 Leagues from *Donawert*; and altho' we had already march'd two or three days successively, and had not time before to clear the Roads, nevertheless by the diligence and care of Monsieur the Duke, the Army made the same day the intended March, and advanc'd even hither to *Ubermagen*, by the River *Wernitz*. The Cavalry and Dragoons pass'd upon a Bridge and by a Ford, and we made use of Pontons which we brought with us to make another Bridge, upon which the Infantry pass'd with all manner of expedition. The Avant Guard, where my Lord Duke was in Person, the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, Lieutenant General *Lumley*, my self, General *Bonafan* and *Wood*, the Prince of *Hombourgh*, the

the Count *d'Arbach* and *Schulemberg*, was compos'd of 32 Squadrons. 1704.

The Infantry consisting of 5850 Men, was led according to my Lord Duke's Order, by Lieutenant General *Goor*, and 30 Battallions under the command of Lieutenant General *Hoorn*, who had with him the Major Generals *Wiibers*, *Luyck*, *Palland*, and *Beinheim*, had Orders to support them.

The Cavalry having pass'd the River, the Duke of *Marlborough* took 'em with him to view as near as possible he could the Enemies Camp and Intrenchments. The Infantry being arriv'd on the other side of the River, and ready for the Attack, march'd before the Cavalry, and was led to the Attack by Lieutenant General *Goor*, supported by the rest of the Foot which the Duke of *Marlborough* had order'd to reinforce the said Lieutenant General. under the command of Lieutenant General *Hoorn*. The whole was follow'd and supported by the said 32 Squadrons.

The Attack being thus dispos'd, the *English* and *Dutch* Troops drew nearer the Intrenchments, having on one side the Town, and on the other a Wood. They and the Enemy cannonaded each other about an hour, whilst they waited the coming up of the Imperialists. As soon as they arriv'd, not to lose time, the said *English* and *Dutch* began the Attack with great Vigour; the Enemy defended themselves with abundance of Bravery. The Imperialists advanc'd as expeditiously as they could in good Order; and the Prince of *Baden* having also attack'd them, the Intrenchments were forc'd after a very stubborn Fight of about an hour and an half. The Dragoons were at the Head to sustain the Infantry, under the command of the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse*, and he continu'd expos'd to their Fire till he was wounded in the side.

Lieutenant General *Lumley* and my self, with the Major Generals *Wood*, the Prince of *Hombourg*, Count *Erbach* and M. *de Schulemberg* commanded the Cavalry.

Lieutenant General *Goor*, who commanded the Infantry, was kill'd, and also Major General *Beinheim*.

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‘ Those that are wounded amongst the Infantry are Lieutenant General *Horn* in the Leg, Major General *Palland* in the Groin, without danger, and Brigadier *Tobias* in the Belly. Those that are wounded amongst the Cavalry are, the hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, and Major General *Wool*: The Count *d’ Erbach* had one Horse kill’d and another wounded. I had a Horse wounded. The Prince of *Saxe* is wounded in the Arm without danger. Brigadier *Boodmar* is also wounded, and amongst the Imperialists the Margrave of *Baden* is wounded, but without danger. I have seen him on Horseback upon the Field of Battle since the Action, and he complain’d that his wound disorder’d him, but that ’twas without danger: he had also a Horse kill’d.

‘ The Count *de Styrum* Velt-Marshal has also had a Shot cross his Body, and is in danger.

‘ Velt Marshal *Thungen* is wounded in the Hand, and Prince *Alexander* of *Wirtemberg* is wounded in the Leg; the Prince of *Beveren*, a Major General, is kill’d.

‘ As soon as we have a List of the Officers and Soldiers kill’d and wounded, I shall not fail to give you an Account thereof. I guess we have about 6 or 700 Men kill’d, and 1000 dangerously wounded, besides those which are slightly wounded. The Duke of *Marlborough* gave the Orders throughout the whole Action with all possible readiness, easiness, prudence and presence of Mind. The Prince of *Baden* every Body must own has done all that could be expected from a great and brave General, so far that we owe him upon this Occasion all possible Praise and Honour. I am with profound Respect,

*High and Mighty Lords,*

*Your High and Mightinesses*

*Most Humble, most Obedient*

*and Faithful Servant,*

*R. V. Baron Van Hompesch.*  
P. S.

P. S. ' We have likewise taken from the Enemy 6 pieces of Cannon, 6 Pounders, and 13 Colours. 1764

The Elector desir'd me to go and assist the Count *d' Arco* in the defence of this Post: I shall add nothing to the Relations of these Generals, but that I never saw a Battle more bloody, nor a Victory more resolutely disputed. The *Dutch* at *Eckeren*, and the *English* here fought more like Devils than Men: But the Troops of those two Nations suffer'd extremely in this Attack, till the Imperialists, commanded by Prince *Lewis of Baden*, came up; we were then oblig'd to abandon our Intrenchments, and save our selves by swimming over the *Danube*. It was a happiness for me that I had learnt to swim when I was a Boy; which sav'd my life now, and deliver'd me from the Hands of the *English*, who gave no Quarter, witness the two Regiments of *French* Dragoons which were put to the Sword. The Count *d' Arco*, my self, and several other Officers, being at last arriv'd in the Camp of *Lawingen*, we found the Elector afflicted at the loss of the Post of *Schellenberg*, which was an evil Presage to the War of *Bavaria*: Till this time that Prince always appear'd easie and secure, forward in encouraging his Troops; but now doubting of his security in his advantageous Camp of *Lawingen* and *Dillingen*, he abandon'd that Camp and march'd with his Army under the Cannon of *Ausbourg*. The Garrison of *Donawert* had order to put fire to that Town; and the Magazines they had therein, and to come and join the Elector; but the Victorious Troops on a sudden ran and extinguish'd the fire, and sav'd the Magazines. The Confederate Generals, after this happy Success, made a Detachment to go and attack the Pass of the *Velde* upon the *Leck*, which being abandon'd their Army left *Donawert* and came and encamp'd between *Velde* and *Ganderpine*, where they resolv'd to attack the Town of *Rain*, and open thereby a Passage into *Bavaria*: A Detachment was likewise sent under the command of the Count *de Fugger* to force the Castle of *Dillingen* to surrender; and afterwards to level the Intrenchments where the Elector's Army had encamp'd. These two Enterprises were executed

without much resistance, the Town of *Rais* capitulated, and the Garrison of the Castle of *Dillingen* was made Prisoners of War. The Allies, encouraged by the prosperity of their Arms, were willing to push forward their Conquests, and endeavour to reduce the Elector of *Bavaria* to such Extremities, as would cause him to detect the fatal day whereon he had entered into such strict Engagements with the two Crowns, by the ruin of such fine Dominions, which he sacrificed to a phantom of Grandure that the Court of *France* had buoyed him up with: and which might at last only leave him for a recompence the shadow of what he had been heretofore. The 18th of *July* the Confederate Army decamp'd and march'd to attack the Post of *Aicha*, which had a Garrison of 8 or 900 *Bavarians*, who refusing to submit were part of 'em put to the Sword, the rest made Prisoners of War, and the Town permitted to be pillag'd by the Soldiers. We saw then throughout the whole Country nothing but an universal Desolation, 50 or 60 Villages were burnt to Ashes, and nothing that the Laws of War would allow of were omitted in order to oblige the Elector to change Parties. Madam the Electress not thinking her self safe at *Munich*, writ a Letter full of Grief and Affliction to the Archbishop of *Saltzbourg*, to beg his Protection; which was as follows.

The Electress of *Bavaria*'s Letter to the Archbishop of *Saltzbourg*.

*My Cousin,*

‘ YOU see to what Extremities the Elector my  
 ‘ Spouse has reduc'd his Dominions, I have done  
 ‘ all that I am able to keep the War from so fine a  
 ‘ Country. I have endeavour'd by the most earnest  
 ‘ Intreaties to engage him to abandon the Interest of  
 ‘ the Court of *France*, which causes the ruin of our  
 ‘ Electoral Family, and our dear Country, and is the  
 ‘ source of all our Misfortunes: But the *French* Ge-  
 ‘ nerals, who are with him, inspire him with Senti-  
 ‘ ments so contrary to the Peace and Repose of his  
 ‘ Country, that he still persists in his Resolution, in  
 ‘ spite

‘ spite of all the Tears that I shed, to see nothing in  
‘ *Bavaria* but the greatest Desolation, and my self  
‘ and the young Princes my Children, forc’d to seek  
‘ a refuge elsewhere than at *Munich*. I pray you to  
‘ grant me a retreat to *Salzbourg*, and believe that I  
‘ am, &c.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and the Prince of *Baden*, who commanded in chief the Confederate Army, considering the present situation of Affairs, did not think fit to go directly to *Munich*, the Capital of *Bavaria*, as it had been before concerted, but thought it more adviseable to attack the Elector in his Camp before the arrival of his new Succours under the command of Marshal *Tallard*. To this end they made a Motion with their Army towards *Ausbourg*, and took a view of the Elector’s Camp, which they found so well intrench’d, and its natural situation so advantageous, that they did not think fit to attempt to force it. The Elector, however, had no great opinion of his security, and I never saw that Prince so hurried and uneasy as at that time.

The particular Conversation that I had with his Highness at *Brussels*, upon the Subject of the Negotiation that the Court of *France* had charg’d me with, procur’d me his Esteem and Confidence. I observ’d that he spoke with more freedom to me than to Marshal *Marsin*, perhaps because he did not fall in with his Sentiments, and was altogether intent upon the Glory of the King, and the Interest of *France*. Whilst the Enemies Army was within sight of our Camp he took me aside, and shew’d me the Circumstances that he was in: He told me, ‘ That he was very sensibly  
‘ grieved to see his Country in Ruin and Desolation.  
‘ That he laid these Misfortunes which so suddenly  
‘ overwhelm’d him the more to Heart, because they  
‘ had been unforeseen. That the March of such Armies that were come to surprize him was so unexpected, that he had not had time to think of preventing their Designs. That it was true the King had writ to him, that he would never abandon him, and that he would assist him with all his Force; but that nevertheless he had reason to complain of the slowness of Marshal *Tallard*, who was bringing to his

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his assistance 30000 Men. You see, says the Elector, the danger that I am in; I have very advantageous Proposals made if I will lay down my Arms, and engage my self with the Allies; the Electress my Spouse solicits me, the Interest of my Family and the preservation of my Country engage me to it. If I attend my destiny by the fortune of Arms, how low shall I be reduc'd by the loss of a Battle? I answer'd his Highness, That he had no reason to despair. That the Arrival of Marshal Tallard, who advanc'd by great Marches would give a new Face to Affairs, That if his Arms should be fortunate he would be consider'd by the two Kings, and would render himself formidable to his Enemies, That the former would never be ungrateful for any Services that he should do them in this War, and the latter would be oblig'd to make yet more advantageous Offers. That nevertheless I was of Opinion that he would do wisely to enter into a Negotiation, and feign himself dispos'd to an Accommodation, till Marshal Tallard arriv'd, after the example of the Duke of Savoy in the last War. This Expedient being propos'd to Marshal Marfin he approv'd of it, upon Condition that the Elector would make him, from time to time, acquainted with all that pass'd in an Affair that so nearly concern'd the King his Master. The Instances on both sides were very pressing. The Allies believ'd that the Elector acted with sincerity, and his Highness on his side had the pleasure of seeing the extent of those Overtures that were made him, and without communicating the secrets of his Heart to Marshal Marfin, reserv'd himself the liberty of accepting the Offers that were made him, if Marshal Tallard should not suddenly arrive.

This Negotiation had the success that was hop'd for. The Elector gain'd time thereby, and as soon as he received advice that Marshal Tallard was arriv'd at Willingen, and was advanc'd some days March before Prince Eugene, he said boldly, that he would steadfastly adhere to the Interest of the two Crowns. The Allies seeing then that there was nothing to be done with a Prince that had amus'd them by a feign'd Negotiation, made several Detachments from their Army to

to pillage *Bavaria*, thinking that the Ravage and Desolation of his Country, would oblige him to leave his Intrenchments, and come into the open Field. But the Elector and Marshal *Marfin* thought it adviseable to continue in their Camp.

Marshal *Tallard* at the Head of 60 Squadrons and 40 Battalions, having pass'd the *Black Forest*, and batter'd *Willingen* 7 days without any effect, arriv'd the 30th of *July* at *Ulm*; which made the Elector now believe, that he might with reason expect favourable Events. We march'd at last out of our Intrenchments towards the *Danube*: The Army under Marshal *Tallard* advanc'd, and the 11th of *August* join'd the Elector; we then pass'd the *Danube* at *Lauringen*, and came and encamp'd at *Hochstet*.

Upon this motion the Confederate Generals made a considerable Detachment under Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to besiege *Ingolstadt*, and with the rest of their Troops march'd towards *Donawert*. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* at the Head of a Body of Cavalry advanc'd the 12th at 5 a clock in the morning towards *Sweyningen* to take a view of the *French* and *Bavarian* Army: They were then encamp'd in the Plain of *Bleinheim*, where the famous Battle was fought which decided the Elector's Destiny, by the loss of all his Country, and which was at the same time a fatal blow to *France*. To give a faithful Relation of the principal Events of this great Day, I have thought it would not be amiss to recite here the Generals Letters who have commanded on each side.

Marshal *Tallard's* Letter to the Most Christian King.

S I R,

IT is my misfortune that instead of a Victory I am oblig'd to acquaint your Majesty with the loss of a Battle, and the defeat of your Army. If Monsieur the Elector had had more regard to Marshal *Marfin's* and my advice than to his own Magnanimity, we should not have come to the extremity of venturing a Battle, as I have already writ to Monsieur *Chamillard*. The Rules of War requir'd that



his Electoral Highness with the Succours that your Majesty had sent him should act defensively, till the departure of so many Foreign Troops which the Queen of *England* and the States General had sent into *Bavaria*. See, Sir, the detail of the Action: The Enemy knowing that our Army march'd towards *Lawingen* and *Dillingen* to pass the *Danube*, they march'd also, and the two Armies found themselves at 6 a clock in the morning within half a League of *Hochstet*. The Right Wing, which I commanded, extended it self to the *Danube*; the Marquess de *Blainville* commanded the Infantry, which was in the Center of the Wing, having a Village in the Front and some Hedges, that they were posselt of. The Body and the Left Wing was commanded by M. the Elector and M. *Marfin*, extending it self to a Wood, having likewise a Village before them. We were separated from the Enemy by a Marthy Rivulet. My Artillery, which was always superior to that of the Enemy, and which put twice into disorder their Left Wing, began to Fire upon them half an hour after 8 a clock. At 10 a clock the Enemy attempting to pass the Rivulet were vigorously repuls'd. About 11 a clock the *English* Cavalry charg'd that of my Wing, which repuls'd them with abundance of Bravery, Monsieur the Elector being present. The *English* returning to the Charge, attack'd the Gendarmery, who behav'd themselves very ill: Monsieur the Elector having rallied them, lead 'em up again to the Battle supported by the Cavalry, who behav'd themselves very well. His Electoral Highness and I thought the Victory on our side, by the happy Success that the Infantry on the Left Wing had under the command of the Marquess de *Blainville*, who had broke through the Enemies Right, and taken their Cannon. In the mean time the Cavalry of my Wing being charg'd with fresh Troops was broken and forc'd to leave their Ground to the Enemy; it was then that I was made Prisoner, having no other means of escaping than by swimming over the *Danube* at the risque of my Life. Monsieur the Elector seeing himself ready to be surrounded, resolv'd

solv'd to make his retreat, which was the only remedy left him. M. *Marsin* sent my first Aid de Camp to the Village, to order the Troops that were posted there to retire; but they who commanded in that Post stubbornly persisting in the maintaining it, contributed much to the loss of the Battle, and they were likewise made Prisoners of War. Marshal *de Marsin* is retir'd with the rest of the Troops in very good Order towards *Lawingen*. I shall do my self the honour of informing your Majesty more at large of the particulars of this fatal Action, which has been the most sensible and the most grievous Event which could have happen'd to me, in regard of the command of your Majesty's Troops which your Majesty has been pleas'd to intrust me with, &c.

*Tockster* the 13th of August, 1704. TALLARD.

A Letter from an Officer of the Gendarmery to Monsieur *Chamillard*.

My Lord,

AS you have order'd me by your Letter of the 15th of September 1704, to inform you of every thing that pass'd amongst the Gendarmery, I thought my self oblig'd in the absence of the Major to let you know in what Despair all our Officers are at the advice they receive from *Paris*, of the report that Monsieur *de Silly*, (an Officer in the Army, who is a Prisoner of War, sent by Marshal *Tallard* to the King) has spread abroad against our Body. Is it possible, my Lord, that our Reputation so well establish'd by so many different Actions as have drawn upon us so much Envy, should depend upon the Caprice of one particular unexperienc'd Man? Shall he be believ'd whensoever he is willing to dishonour so brave a People, who have done all that they have been able to do in this unfortunate Battle for the Service of the King? And yet it is but too true that he has prevail'd in all his Stories against us, and we are inform'd that he has further advanc'd, that the flight of the Gendarmery had caus'd that of

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1704. the Cavalry. All the Army knows that we charg'd twice before the Cavalry came near the Enemy; and that we remain'd in Face of the Enemy till half an hour after 6 a clock; and it was the Center, not us that was first broke, and began the Rout: This is matter of Fact which no Body can contradict. Don't refuse us then, my Lord, upon this nice Occasion, the priviledge that is granted even to Criminals, which is, not to judge of us upon the report of one Man alone; but of many sincere and reputable People accusom'd to Action, and who saw clearly the Transactions of that day; that the Truth alone, and not Envy, may speak.

You know that he inveigh'd against us even at the Battle of *Spire*, where the Gendarmery alone broke through the Enemy's Order, and thereby gave the Infantry time to come up; he durst even then speak ill of us, but you were soon inform'd of the Truth. Grant us, my Lord, so far your favour as to justify us in this last Affair.

I assure you it was impossible for us to do more, in the situation we were in, than to toil and labour as we did without succeeding in our Charges; being always expos'd to the Fire of a Body of Infantry posted in a cross Road, with Pallisadoes before 'em, which were seen to none but such as approach'd the Enemy so near as we did. I ought likewise to tell you, my Lord, that Marshal *Tallard* is prejudic'd against us; but in what we have the misfortune to displease him we are ignorant: Nevertheless we believe him too just to have order'd *M. de Sully* to charge us with the Miscarriages of this unhappy day.

He did not see the two first Discharges that we made, because it was not till after 5 that he return'd from Marshal *Marsin* in the Left Wing of the Army whither he went; and he was not able to see at his return that the Enemy had had time to form before us four Lines, one upon another; which rendred all our Efforts in vain; for when we broke the first they were yet strengthened by three others.

In short, if we had taken flight we should not have had 51 Officers kill'd and wounded; there are 53 wanting, and almost all those that are remain-  
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ing have had two Horſes kill'd under them; we have likewiſe loſt a great number of Gendarmes, of which I have had the Honour to inform you. Meſſieurs de *Lamion*, *Hauteſort* and *Magnac* can tell you the ſame, that we remain'd with them upon the Heights of *Hochſtet* till 6 a clock in the Evening; and that it was we that favour'd the Retreat of Meſſieurs de *Zurlauben* and *de la Banne*, and made the Rear-Guard even to *Ulm*.

We give our ſelves the Assurance to hope, that you will pleaſe to inform the King of theſe Truths of which I have the Honour to acquaint you, and thereby afford ſome Conſolation to thoſe Officers, who are wounded to the very Heart; and who are ready to ſacrifice every day their Lives and Eſtates to his Maſteſty's Service. We expect this favour from you.

S I R,

I am, &c.

Now we will ſee the Letters from the Confederate Generals.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* Letter to the States.

*High and Mighty Lords,*

I Had the Honour to write to your High Migneſſes on *Sunday* laſt, to inform you of our Reſolution to beſiege *Ingolſtadt*, and of the ſituation of the Enemy.

The ſame day in the Evening we underſtood that they had paſſ'd the *Danube* at *Lamingen*; upon which, at midnight I order'd General *Churchill* with 20 Battallions, which had paſſ'd the *Danube* that day, to reinforce Prince *Eugene*; and at 3 in the morning I began to march with the reſt of the Army; part of which, that we might make as much haſte as poſſible, took the ſame way with General *Churchill*; and the Horſe with the firſt Line of the Foot paſſ'd the *Lech* at *Rain*, and the *Danube* at *Donawert*.

We join'd Prince *Eugene* the ſame Night, and encamp'd

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camp'd with our Right at *Appertz-bosen*, and the Left at *Munster*, with a design next Morning to take possession of the Camp at *Hochster*: But when Prince *Eugene* and I came to view the Ground with 40 Squadrons, we found the Enemy had already possessed it; upon which we resolv'd to march towards them, which we did yesterday, the Army being in motion by 2 in the morning, which the Enemy did not expect. We came in sight of 'em by 6, and betwixt 8 and 9 we began to cannonade each other; but the Enemy having two Rivulets or Brooks before 'em, and a sort of a Morass, the Horse were oblig'd to file off, and Prince *Eugene* having a great turn to take it was one a clock before we could come to engage. The Enemy form'd themselves into two Bodies: The Elector and M. *Marfin* commanded on the Left, and M. *Tallard* on the Right. It fell to my lot to engage the latter. The Action was indeed very hot, and continued till Sun set, when it pleas'd God to give the High Allies one of the greatest and most compleat Victories that has been known.

It is impossible to express the Bravery of our Troops, as well General Officers as Soldiers, who deserve all possible Praise. Our Cavalry charg'd 4 or 5 times; but time does not permit me to be particular; their whole Army was put to the Rout. We have made a great slaughter of 'em, and taken their Camp with their Cannon and Ammunition. On my side, we push'd above 30 Squadrons into the *Danube*, where most of 'em were drown'd, and we have taken Monsieur *Tallard* with many of their General Officers. In the Village of *Bleinheim*, which the Enemies had fortified, I have made 26 Battallions and 12 Squadrons Prisoners at Discretion; besides which we have taken a great number of Standards and Colours.

I know not yet all the Particulars that pass'd on the Right, but Prince *Eugene's* good Conduct, and the Bravery of his Troops have particularly signaliz'd themselves in this Glorious Action; for which I will delay no longer to congratulate your Highness and Mightinesses, referring you for the Particulars

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to Collonel *Panton*, one of my Adjutant Generals, who having been in the Action, will tell you the Particulars by word of Mouth. 1704.

*Hochstet* the 14th  
of August, 1704.

I am, &c.

Duke of Marlborough.

Baron *Hompesch's* Letter to the States General.

*High and Mighty Lords,*

WE march'd this morning by break of day from our Camp at *Munster* to attack the Enemy, and came within a league and a half of *Hochstet*, and because we had the *Danube* on one side, and an impracticable Wood on the other; we had no way to march but through a Plain that had a River running through the midst of it, over which the Duke of *Marlborough* had caused Bridges to be made the day before. Notwithstanding this precaution we could not march but in 8 Columns, and during two thirds of the way it was impossible for us to draw up in order of Battle, and we were oblig'd to attack the Enemy under all these Disadvantages. They had before them a Rivulet which was in most places unpassable for the Cavalry, the ground being Marshy; so that our Wing and the Imperialists under Prince *Eugene* were a long time before we could form our Lines, and attack the Enemy. The Fight began at one of the clock, and continu'd till five. The Troops of our Wing having pass'd the Rivulet and Morafs aforesaid, attack'd the Enemy, who having on their Right the Castle of *Hochstet* on the *Danube*, had posted near it their Infantry, which made a great resistance against the *English* and *Dutch* Foot. Our Cavalry charg'd the Enemy several times, and we mingled one amongst the other, they repuls'd us, and we in our turn repuls'd them, so that the success was for some time sharply disputed, but at last we put their whole Cavalry to flight, and cut off several of their Battallions. While the Cavalry was thus engag'd, the Infantry in the Center maintained a sharp dispute with the Enemy, and the Victory

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Victory was doubtful for some time. Several of our Battallions, and amongst others, those of *Goor* and *Beinheim* suffer'd very much. Prince *Eugene* with the Imperial Troops, the *Prussians* and the *Danish* Foot, attack'd on his side the Elector of *Bavaria*, and found so great resistance that the *French* were first routed, and the Elector retir'd with better order, but not without a great loss. That Prince and the *French* being thus defeated, 20 Battallions of the *French* retir'd into *Hochstet*, where being cover'd by a Castle, they could not be forc'd without Cannon. They defended themselves till towards Night against the *English* and *Dutch*, but were then oblig'd to surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion, with all their Generals. Marshal *Tallard* was driven to the Banks of the *Danube* with several Squadrons, and being press'd on by our Cavalry, surrendred himself Prisoner to the *Sieur de Beynenburgh*, Adjutant General to the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, having not thought fit to run the danger of being drown'd, as were most of his Cavalry and Infantry, which our Horse drove into the *Danube*. The Marquess de *Mouperon*, General of the *French* Cavalry, the Marquess of *Maignen*, if I do not forget his name, *M. de Puanga*, Lieutenant General of the Cavalry, Monsieur *Clarembeau*, and Monsieur de *Blansac* Lieutenant Generals, Brigadier *Jolie* Marshal de Camp commanding the Regiment of the Queen, the Chevalier de *Legorde*, Colonel of Horse, the Marquess de *la Valiere*, Brigadier, have been made Prisoners. We have taken a great deal of Cannon, but I cannot yet learn the number of Pieces, and other Particulars. The Prince of *Holstein Beck*, Major General, who arriv'd in our Camp but the day before, was dangerously wounded, taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and put upon a Waggon to be carried away; but their Cavalry being defeated we found him on the said Waggon, having three or four dangerous wounds, as I am inform'd; Major General *Natfmar* in the *Prussian* Troops was dangerously wounded. We have also lost amongst our Cavalry some Officers; and of the Regiment of the Count d' *Erpach*, we had his Brother, a Man of Merit,

rit, kill'd, with Captain *Witsenrode*, and another ; but I shall send a List of the Officers kill'd and wounded with all possible speed. The Fight was very obstinate and bloody in the beginning, because we attack'd the Enemy with great Disadvantage, and besides they were stronger than us, being 84 Battalions and 114 Squadrons, and we have but the number which I mention'd in my last Letter to your High Mightinesses.

The Enemy, according to the report of Deserters, earnestly wish'd that we would attack them in their advantageous Posts; but, through God's Blessing, the very disadvantage that we lay under has been the occasion of such a compleat Victory, that none can sufficiently return Thanks for the same. The Duke of *Marlborough* gave the Orders with great Prudence and Conduct, and expos'd himself in the most dangerous Places during the whole Action, giving the Directions with a great presence of Mind amidst the greatest Fire. Prince *Eugene* has done on his part what was possible to be done, and the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel* was in the midst of the Action, and has very much distinguish'd himself.

*Hochstet* August the

I am, &c.

13th, 1704.

*R. V. Baron de Hompesch.*

P. S. ' Instead of 20 Battallions, as I mention'd before, to be taken Prisoners of War in *Hochstet*, there are 26, and 4 Regiments of Dragoons, viz. 3 Squadrons of the Master de Camp General ; 2 of the Queen ; 3 of *Wassn*, and 4 of *Roan*. The Foot consists of 3 Battallions of *Navarre* ; 2 of *Greder German* ; 3 *Aunix* ; 2 *Blefois* ; 2 *Artois* ; 1 *Provence* ; 2 *Languedock* ; 2 *Aginois* ; 2 *Surlauben* ; 2 *S. Second* ; 1 *Laffy* ; 1 *Bolonois* ; 1 *Merevreme* ; 2 *Montforest* ; 1 *Bloisle*. The *Marquets de Hautefermeille*, General of the Dragoons, with 5 Brigadiers, and a great many Collonels, besides those I have abovemention'd are taken. Monsieur *Clairembreau*, Lieutenant General, whom I said was taken, commanded in *Hochstet*, and is missing, so that 'tis not known whether he is kill'd, or has made his escape, which was very difficult.

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P. S. ' As I thought your High Majesties would  
 ' desire to be yet more particularly inform'd by the  
 ' Mouth of an Officer of your Troops, who has been  
 ' in this Action: I have dispatch'd the *Sieur de Broder*  
 ' Captain of Horse, that he may more easily inform  
 ' you of what I have done my best and Honour to  
 ' write to you.

Prince Eugene's Letter to the King of Prussia.

S I R,

' YOUR Majesty has undoubtedly been fully inform-  
 ' ed already of the signal Victory which we ob-  
 ' tain'd the 13<sup>th</sup> of this Month over the *French* and  
 ' *Bavarians*. I therefore pass over in silence many of  
 ' the particulars of the Action, lest I should be redi-  
 ' cious to your Majesty: But, with all Submission, I  
 ' cannot forbear giving deserved Praise to the Body of  
 ' your Troops, which serv'd under my command on  
 ' this Occasion; having been an Eye witness that both  
 ' the Superior and Inferior Officers and private Sol-  
 ' diers, particularly the Foot who were in the Right  
 ' Wing, fought with Intrepidity, and for several  
 ' hours sustain'd the Efforts of the Enemy, who, by  
 ' God's assistance, and by means of the great Fire of  
 ' the said Foot, were put into such disorder, that be-  
 ' ing no longer able to stand before them, they were  
 ' forc'd to fly with precipitation, leaving us the Field  
 ' of Battle, and a Glorious Victory. Now, Sir, see-  
 ' ing noble Actions spring from the Heroick conduct  
 ' of a Commander, and that the worthy Examples of  
 ' their superior Officers, generally inspire the Soldiers  
 ' with double Courage; 'tis just to give the Prince of  
 ' *Hainault* in particular the Praise so much his due; he  
 ' was altogether careless of his Person, and uncon-  
 ' cern'd amidst the greatest Dangers; he led on his  
 ' Men to the Charge with undaunted Resolution, so  
 ' that to his immortal Glory, to his Valour and Con-  
 ' duct, this Victory is in a great measure to be attri-  
 ' buted. Sir, I could not forbear giving, in all Obe-  
 ' dience, this Testimony to your Majesty of the Bra-  
 ' very worthy of all Praise, shewn by your Troops  
 ' under my Command; and at the same time to assure  
 ' your

your Majesty, that I shall be wanting in nothing that may contribute to their Preservation and Advantage ; because I shall always count it a very particular happiness to be able to render myself worthy of your Majesty's Esteem, being with respectful Obedience, &c.

*Hochstet*, the 16th of August, 1704. EUGENE.

I shall add nothing to the Relations which these General Officers have given of the Battle of *Hochstet* in their Letters. They that will take the pains to read 'em will find abundance of Satisfaction. I shall only say that when the Fire of the Artillery and Musketry, which was certainly as terrible in this bloody Fight as that of Hell, had ceas'd, and we had left off, if we may so say, killing and being kill'd, and the Allies remaining absolute Masters of the Field of Battle, the Scene was so surprizing that we all look'd one upon another as People catch'd up into the Clouds, but with this difference, that we were chagrind to such a degree as cannot be express'd by seeing nothing round about us but our *French* Officers made Prisoners of War, but the Victorious Troops had nothing amongst them but Joy and Rejoycings. It was indeed somewhat surprizing that almost a whole Army should be made Prisoners. Our Officers of Dragoons, Gendarmery, Cavalry, and the oldest Regiments of Infantry had reason to curse *Bavaria* as the detestable Country which had caus'd their Disgraces ; but that is no remedy for their unhappiness ; I may well reckon my self amongst them, and shall now shew the recompence that I have received for all the Services that I have done the Court. Marshal *Tallard* having been made Prisoner, and his Wing intirely defeated, the Elector, as most interested in the fortune of this Engagement, apprehending that the Marshal was made Prisoner, thought of nothing but his retreat, and was in danger of being surrounded. The *French* Troops that then remain'd upon the Field of Battle were put into the greatest Confusion. Marshal *Marsin*, near whom I was, gave me a Commission which I would

1704 have excus'd my self from, as being not his Aid de Camp, but M. Tallard's, and having besides run amongst the Cannon and Musket Bullets all day, I was unwilling to expose my Life further in doing a pleasure to a General whom I had no dependance on, and was not oblig'd to obey; but yet willing to be complaisant I undertook the execution of his Orders, which was to go and advise the Commander of 27 Battalions, and 4 Regiments of Dragoons which were in the Village to retire immediately. To execute these Orders with more readiness I chang'd my Horse, and did all that was humanely possible to pass by the *English* Troops which had surrounded the Village; but in spite of all my endeavours I could not avoid being taken Prisoner. M. Marfin sent another Aid de Camp with the same Orders, who was so fortunate as to pass the Enemies Troops and get into the Village; but the Orders that he carried did not prevent the Troops from being made Prisoners. M. Marfin writ afterwards to Court that I had not executed his Orders, and consequently that misfortune was imputed to me. When if I should have had the good fortune to have pass'd through the Enemies Troops it would have avail'd nothing; the *French* Troops surrounded by a Victorious Army must have been massacred, or made Prisoners of War.

But to come nearer to the Matter. M. Marfin had no love for me. The Elector put more Confidence in me than in M. Marfin when we encamp'd near *Ausbourg*, which did not please him, and made him glad to find an occasion of shewing me some marks of his Displeasure. However it was, the Letters that he writ to Court caus'd my Disgrace, and the King, who does not easily pardon where he has received evil Impressions, would never hear of me since that time. His Ministers, who follow the Inclination of his Majesty, good or bad, have also turn'd their Backs upon me; altho' I have writ several Letters to M. Chamillard and de Torcy, to justify my self, and Marshal Tallard has also writ to the Marchioness of Maintenon in my favour. Thus the establishment of my Fortune on which I had so much depended is totally subverted.

At

At the arrival of *Monsieur de Silly*, who was sent to the King by *M. Tallard*, the Court was in an unexpressible Consternation ; his Majesty, accus'd to conquer, was at this News extremely mortified ; he could not understand how so flourishing an Army, as he had in *Bavaria*, could be defeated or taken Prisoners : For my part, I must confess, that when I seriously reflect upon it I am confounded. I never saw our Generals more joyful than they appear'd to be at the sight of the Enemies Army a little before the Battle ; the Elector promising himself success proudly said, *That as he had beat Count Styrum the last Campaign, he expected to have the pleasure here of beating the rest of the Emperor's Troops, and those of his Allies.* *M. Tallard*, swell'd with the Glory that he had acquir'd at the Battle of *Spire*, flatter'd himself with the hopes of gaining a Victory at *Hochstet*, insomuch that he did not scruple to say, *That if the Enemies had not Boats to pass the Rivulet which separated the two Armies, he would furnish them with some.* We may add to this the advantage of a Camp which seem'd inaccessible : The superiority and goodness of our Troops. But yet the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* made it appear that they knew as much of this Affair as our Generals. To deceive them they made a Detachment to besiege *Ingolstadt*, which Project was follow'd by several Marches and Countermarches which they caus'd their Troops to make, and by these Stratagems they surpriz'd us, so that our Tents were even standing when the Fight began ; and we had scarce time enough to range our selves in order of Battle. That which was our ruin was the weakness of our Center, occasion'd by the most part of our Troops being drawn away to reinforce those which were in the Village on our Right. My Lord Duke making use of this opportunity charg'd us there so dexterously with a Body of choice Cavalry that every thing that they met with on that side was forc'd and overturned. By this unexpected Motion the two Wings of our Army were separated, and our Field of Battle was immediately fill'd with the Enemies Troops.

The Elector upon this Misfortune was forc'd to abandon his Dominions, and retire by long Marches

24 with the remains of his Army towards the *Black Forest*, in order to join M. *Villeroy* about the Sources of the *Danube*. The Prince of *Baden* quitted *Ingolstadt* to join the main Army. The Town of *Ausburgh* sent four Deputies to the Confederate Army to pray the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* to give them their Protection. *Ulm* was besieged by General *Thun- gen*. The Elector writ a Letter to the Electress his Spouse, which bewail'd his Misfortune and the Desolation of his Country. He left the Administration of the Government to her during his absence, and charg'd her to endeavour to remedy Affairs as much as she possibly could by her self, or by the advice of her Ministers. His Highness sent this Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough* by a Trumpeter, and desir'd him to let it pass to the Electress his Spouse at *Munich*; my Lord Duke was not unwilling to shew his Enemy marks of his Generosity and Clemency. He caus'd the Letter to be immediately dispatch'd to the unfortunate Princess, who had no part in the causes of *Bavaria's* Misfortunes; she endeavour'd all she could to prevent them, and if the Elector had follow'd her advice, he would never have hazarded all his and his Countries happiness upon the fortune of a Battle.

The Electress, as soon as she read the Letter undertook the Government of all his Affairs; she immediately sent Father *Smacka* a Jesuit, to the Prince of *Baden*, to make him Propositions of an Accommodation, that she might deliver her People from Desolation and Pillage. The Confederate Generals in the mean time making use of the success that attended their Arms, were desirous of making a farther Progress. They march'd with their Army towards *Landau*, with a Resolution either to lay Siege to that Place, or oblige M. *Villeroy*, who was encamp'd upon the *Queich* to cover it, to a second Battle. *Villeroy* considering that he might be doom'd to the same Destiny as the Elector and the Marshals *Tallard* and *Marsin* had undergone at *Hochstet*, did not think fit to hazard a Battle, nor had he such Orders from Court, which made him retire at the approach of the Confederate Army, and he was push'd as far as *Hagenau*, flying before the Enemy.

After

After *Villeroy's* retreat *Landau* was besieged by the Prince of *Baden*, the King of the *Romans* being present, and surrendered, after a stubborn Siege, by Capitulation. The Elector of *Bavaria*, overburthen'd with his Disgraces, and seeing no remedy sufficient to call Fortune on his side, retir'd to *Brussels*, his former seat of Pleasures and Gallantry: *Bavaria*, his Country seem'd now but a frightful Desert to him, representing nothing but Calamities. At his arrival at *Brussels*, the Elector of *Cologne*, his Brother, came to visit him. These two Princes had an Interview, which was rendred very touching and afflicting by the fresh remembrances of their Misfortunes and Adversity. They saw each other banish'd from their Dominions, and constrain'd to seek an Asyle in *France*. The Elector of *Cologne*, who was dissatisfied with the Haughtiness that the King and his Ministers treated him with, reproach'd his Brother for having sacrific'd him to his Ambition, by the treacherous hopes of Grandure which the Court of *France* had buoied him up with. The Elector of *Bavaria* in his turn endeavour'd to comfort him, by the prospect of a return of better fortune. He told him, ' That the two Kings, whose Interest they had espoused, were powerful enough to re-establish them in their Dominions: That the King of *France* had assur'd him, that he would put on foot such numerous and formidable Armies next Campaign, that not only the War of *Bavaria* should again try its Fortune, but he would likewise raise the hopes of a War that had been hitherto unfortunate.

The D. of *Marlborough* omitting nothing that might advance the Glory that he had acquir'd in *Bavaria*, resolv'd to make two Sieges yet before the end of the Campaign, viz. that of *Traarbach* and *Saarbach*. To this end he marches towards the *Moselle* with a considerable Army, which he left under the command of the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, as also the direction of the Attacks of those two Places, and return'd himself to the Siege of *Landau*; from whence he afterwards departed to go to the Courts of *Berlin* and *Hannover* upon some particular Negotiations. He was received in these Courts and in *Holland*, at his re-

## The Marquis De L — ry's

turn, as the Hero of all the Prosperities which attended the Confederate Arms this Campaign.

What pass'd in *Brabant* and *Flanders* this Campaign was of no great Importance; as the great Bodies were in such violent Motion in *Bavaria*, and that was the bloodiest Theatre of War, little besides the protection of each others Country was intended here: However, Monsieur *de Trognes* forcing the Lines with a Detachment was an Enterprize which would have been follow'd with several considerable Advantages to the Allies, if he had been supported; but he was oblig'd to retire after he had forc'd them. *Namur* and *Bruges* were bombard'd; the first by the Velt Marshal *Auverquerque*, the other by General *Spar*. The *Dutch* Army being advanc'd towards *Dinant* struck a great terror into the Neighbouring Country, and exacted from thence great Contributions: General *Salish* attack'd Fort *Isabella*, took it and demolish'd it. The Elector of *Bavaria* and M. *Villeroy*, hoping to repair the ill success they had had in *Bavaria*, form'd at the end of the Campaign a Project of surprizing General *Auverquerque*: To this End *Villeroy* came post to *Brussels*, where the Elector was, to concert with him this Enterprize, which would have been very Glorious if it had succeeded; but General *Auverquerque* having had advice of their March kept himself upon his guard, which frustrated their Design; they contented themselves then with sending some Detachments to the *Mozelle*, which put an end to the Campaign in *Flanders*.

I come now to the War in the *Cevennees*, which was the most dangerous of any the King was engag'd in; the Court of *France* found at last the means of putting an end to it, by drawing off from that Party *Cavallier*, who was the chief of the *Camisars*. Marshal *Villars* made an end of that Affair by methods quite different from what had been us'd before: He, instead of Cruelties, Slaughter and Punishments, which had rendred Marshal *Montrevel* odious, treated them with Gentleness, the King's Promises, and Clemency. *Villars* was very much applauded at Court for the great Services that he did *France* at a time when the Allies were every where Victorious. But the

the little sincerity of his Promises have since discover'd, that his only Design in that Negotiation was to deceive *Cavallier*, and all those of his Party. I am not surpriz'd at it, because I know 'tis the Genius of the Ministers of *France*; if they have the assurance to think that they are not bound to keep Sacred, Treaties made with Sovereign Princes, any longer than they consist with the King's Interest, it is not to be wondred at if they break through such as they make with their own People, who are subject to the Obedience of their Sovereign Monarch, who has always been so jealous of his Power over his People, that the bare shadow of Rebellion would make him not scruple to sacrifice them. But if the King and his Ministers put the trick upon *Cavallier*, he did the like to them in his turn; for soon after this Negotiation was ended he was at the Court of *France*, where he had some Conferences with the King and M. *Chamillard*; but being uneasie at the Treatment he had receiv'd took his opportunity to leave *France*. He had a Squadron of Dragoons to conduct him and such of his Countrymen that follow'd him to old *Brisack*, but the Dragoons turn'd a little out of the Road to a certain Village to pass away the night and divert themselves: *Cavallier* took this opportunity to shake off his Guard, and took his Countrymen to the number of 80, and fled into the Principality of *Neuchâtel*, where they came the 29th of *August*; from thence they went to *Lanzane*, but the Magistrates refus'd to open their Gates to them to avoid the Complaints of the Marquis de *Puisieux* the *French* Ambassador, but distributed Provisions to 'em, and gave them the liberty to encamp in a Neighbouring Wood. The Subject of *Cavallier's* Complaint against the Court of *France* was, That *Marthal Villars* had not regarded the Promises that he had made him: That he had engag'd himself to release his Protestant Brethren from the Gallies, and grant them the free exercise of their Religion, and yet nothing of all this had been executed: That instead of a Regiment that he had promis'd should be given him, he was put off with a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission: That having a foresight of the ill Treatment that he

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should have at *Brisac*, he thought he ought not to let slip the present occasion of procuring his Liberty.

These are the Articles of the Treaty made between Marshal *Villars* and *Cavallier*, after which is inserted the Copy of a Letter which Monsieur *Chamillard* wrote to him full of Repentment when he left *France*.

**W**E the Marquess of *Villars*, Marshal of *France*, Governor of *Vienne*, Commander of the King's Troops in the Upper and Lower *Languedock*, &c. have granted the following Articles to the Sieur *Cavallier*, chief of the *Camisars*.

## I.

That he shall be permitted to live in liberty of Conscience, not only himself but all the Protestants of the Province of *Languedock*, without being oblig'd to go to Mass they shall be permitted to assemble together without any Reproach or Molestation: They shall not be allow'd to build a Church, but shall have the liberty to meet in the Fields.

## II.

That all the Prisoners that have been made, and such as have been sent to the Gallies since the revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*, shall be set at liberty within six weeks.

## III.

That those who have been forced to leave the Kingdom for the sake of Religion shall have leave to return again upon taking the Oath of Fidelity to their King and Master, and shall enjoy the accustom'd Privileges.

## IV.

That the said *Camisars* shall not be obliged to pay all the Impositions that they are tax'd with during the War, or afterwards.

## V.

That the said *Cavallier* shall have a Regiment of Dragoons consisting of 2000, which shall be drawn out of the Prisons, or which shall have carried Arms with him in the Country.

## VI.

That he shall receive his Orders immediately from the King, and shall serve in *Portugal* during the War.

## VII.

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## VII.

That upon their laying down their Arms, the King will grant them an Amnestv, and promises them the peaceable enjoyment of their Religion.

## VIII.

That those who do not lay down their Arms shall be treated as People unworthy of the Clemency of the King their Master.

## IX.

That the Inhabitants of the *Cevennees*, who have had their Houses burnt, shall pay no Taxes during 7 Years.

The said *Cavallier* has agreed to the above Articles, and we grant them, according to the Power given us, and promise punctually to regard them: In witness whereof we have here given our Hands. Done at *Nismes* the 11th of May, 1704.

*Villars*

*La Lande*

*De Lamoignon de Barville*

*Cavallier*

*Billiar.*

## Monseigneur Chamillard's Letter to Cavallier.

I Received your Letter of the 4th of this Month, by which you pretend to justify your evasion: The Pretences that you make use of may be received amongst the King's Enemies; but I, who have all along known the good Treatment that has been given you, cannot but pity your blindness, and as a Christian beg of God not to punish you according to your Perfidiousness; for I know that you merit but too much. You have carried your Complaints against me, such as they are, into *Switzerland*. You would at least have waited my Answer if you had been sincere. I know you have dispatch'd a Courier to the Duke of *Savoy* since you were at *Lausanne*, and that you draw together all the Refugees that you can to make a Regiment, with which you offer him your Service. I am assur'd that Monsieur the Abbot of *Bourly*, who calls himself the Count de *Guiscard*, and

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and has been an Ecclesiastick these 4 Years, enjoying a very great Abbey, after having led for several Years a disorderly Life, being abandon'd by God, and condemn'd by Man, is become a Renegado, and kicks against the King, his Duty, and his Honour, to destroy his own Country. If such are the Men that compose the Party which you form against the King, his Majesty may hope to be reveng'd of 'em by a Hand more powerful than his own. It is yet time to have a recourse to his Majesty's Clemency. A Man of a Condition so low as yours, accus'd of such Crimes, would, if the Devil had not possess'd him, lay hold of his Majesty's Grace, and retire into such a Place as he might live sweetly and serenely in, and pray God for his Benefactor, without fearing the Event of an unfortunate End. If you have such Sentiments, and can be faithful to your King, Principles inseparable from true Religion, I offer you all the good Offices that I am capable of doing you. If on the contrary you are resolv'd to live a Rebel, it is not for me to have any further Commerce with you.

Fountainbleau the  
13th of September,  
1704.

CHAMILLARD.

Besides the Pacification of the Troubles in the *Cevennees*, which was of great Advantage to *France*, this Campaign afforded another Event which the Court of *France* boasted of (*viz.*) the Victory that Count *Tholouse*, Great Admiral of *France*, pretended to have gain'd in the *Mediterranean*, over the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet. This was one of the most celebrated Sea Fights that has happen'd a long time in respect of its long continuance, the Experience of the Admirals who commanded, and the Bravery of the Officers and Seamen that fought on both sides.

The King of *France* having lost two great Battles by Land, gave out that Count *Tholouse* had gain'd a compleat Victory at Sea, to counterbalance the prosperity of the Enemies Arms in *Bavaria*. It is an Artifice, not uncommon for the Court of *France*, to publish

publish a Victory even sometimes when they have had the Disadvantage. There's no need of any thing but the King's Letter to the Cardinal *de Noailles* to order *Te Deum* to be Sung. This pompous Formality imposes very much upon the Minds of the People, who think never any thing but Truth comes from the Mouth of Kings. Besides this piece of Policy's contributing much to keep the People in Obedience; it was very necessary at this time to daze the *Spaniards*, in order to make 'em the better satisfied with the Duke of *Anjou's* Reign. The Court of *Madrid* was full of Malecontents and Partizans for the House of *Austria*, who, since the Battle of *Hochstet*, inspir'd the People with an Opinion, that the Greatness and good Fortune of the King of *France*, on whom they depended, was but a Phantom. We shall insert here three Letters upon the Subject of this Sea Fight, one from the King of *France* to the Cardinal *de Noailles*, another from King *Philip* to Count *Tholouse*, and the third from Admiral *Callemberg* to Messieurs the States General of the United Provinces.

A Letter from the King of *France* to Cardinal  
*de Noailles*.

My Cousin,

THE Fleet which I have drawn together in the Mediterranean, under the command of my Son the Count of *Tholouse* Admiral of *France*, has not only disappointed the Designs of the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet join'd together upon the Coast of *Catalonia*, but has likewise ended the Campaign gloriously by a general Engagement altogether to our Advantage; altho' the Enemy was considerably more numerous and had a favourable Wind, yet their first Efforts were sustain'd, and they have been repuls'd with so much Bravery by our Officers and Seamen, animated by the example of a General, that they had no other thought during the Fight, which lasted 10 hours, than to avoid being boarded by our Ships, which was several times attempted, and to seek their safety by a Retreat. Count *Tholouse* following them afterwards two days together, and

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and endeavouring, but in vain, to bring them to a second Engagement. This happy success obliges me to give Thanks to God by publick Prayers, &c.

LOUIS.

and lower

*Philepeaux.*

King Philip's Letter to Count *Thoulonse* Admiral of France.

I Dispatch this Courier to you, as a Mark of my Esteem, of my Affection, and of the Acknowledgment of the Services you have done me this Campaign, since it is to you that I owe the Protection of the Coasts of *Spain*, of which we may call you the Deliverer: And as I expect yet greater Effects of your Services by the Reduction of *Gibraltar*, which will be intirely owing to the Succours which you have given me to undertake it, and which is become yet more necessary by what the Enemy has cast into that Place. I expect every moment News from *Baron de Pointis*, whom we expect to be before this time arriv'd there; and I doubt not but that he will obtain a considerable Advantage over the Enemy, if they dare to see him. Your Presence will be again necessary the next Year, and the good Sentiments that I have for you, merit your Services to me in my necessity.

To my Uncle the  
Count of *Thoulonse*,  
Admiral  
of France.

PHILIP.

Besides this Letter of Thanks his Catholick Majesty made a Present to Count *Thoulonse* of a Toison enrich'd with Diamonds to the value of 100000 Crowns, which was carried him by Monsieur *Michelin* one of his Valets de Chambre. He made also a Present to Marshal *de Coeuvres* of a Picture likewise enrich'd with Diamonds, to the value of 25000 Crowns. If these Gifts would have given convincing Proofs of the

the gain of this Battle, it is certain that King *Philip* 1704. could not have employ'd 'em to a better purpose; but we will now see Admiral *Callembourg's* Letter upon this Subject.

Admiral *Callembourg's* Letter to the States.

*High and mighty Lords,*

MY last Letter to your High and Mightinesses was of the 7th of *Aug.* last, to which I with all imaginable Respect refer you. Admiral *Shovel* and Vice Admiral *Wassenaar* return'd the same day to an Anchor in the Bay of *Gibraltar* with the Ships under their Command. The Resolution which was taken two days before in a Council of War was chang'd, and 'twas unanimously agreed to that we should divide our selves into separate Squadrons, the better to Water upon the *Barbary* Coast on the East of *Tiuan*, to provide the Fleet at once with fresh Water, that we might be ready for the first favourable Wind. To this end we rang'd our selves along the Coast the 12th, leaving a Garrison at *Gibraltar* of 1800 *English* Seamen; and at the request of the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* we left in that Bay your High and Mightinesses Bomb Vessels, with Orders to the Bombardiers and Workmen to continue in the Town, during our absence, and obey the Prince's Orders. The 14th the Fleet came to an Anchor under the Cape of *Tiuan*, and the 19th being provided with Water, and other Refreshments, put off again. The 21st our Vanguard being between *Gibraltar* and *Malaga* made a Signal of their perceiving the Enemies Fleet. Thereupon Admiral *Rook* call'd a Council of War, wherein were the Officers of both Nations, and upon the Report of the Captain of the Avant Guard, that the *French* Fleet consisted of 66 Ships of War and 24 Gallies, it was resolved, they being to the Windward, that we would expect 'em before the *Streights* if the Wind should continue at East, and that half of the Garrison of *Gibraltar* should be drawn off to reinforce the *English* Ships. The next day the *English* forc'd a *French* Ship on Shore at *Marrabella*, the Seamen got ashore and

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and burnt their Ship: She was a Store or Hospital Ship. On the 23d we perceiv'd the Enemies Fleet to the Leeward. We bore down towards them but could not join 'em that day. We purſued them all night, and at break of day the next morning, the Wind being at Eaſt, we came on that ſide of the Enemy where we expected 'em, and found them 54 Ships of the Line or Battle, and 24 Gallies which we could number. We advanc'd upon them on that ſide, Admiral *Shovel* having the Avant Guard, and the Squadron of your High and Mightineſſes made up the Rear. In this ſituation the whole Fleet entered into an Engagement about 10 a clock in the Morning, and the Battle was very violent becauſe of the Calm. The Ships, whoſe Maſts and Rigging were damag'd, conſum'd a very great quantity of Powder, inſomuch, that during the Action we were oblig'd to fill again the Cartouches. We continued in this manner to cannonade each other till Night. Captain *Herman Lynſlagar*, Commander of your High and Mightineſſes Ship the *Nimeguen*, has been kill'd, and the Secretary *Vander Schum* has had his right Heel carried off. Your High and Mightineſſes will ſee underneath the number of the kill'd and wounded. In the Night we made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions, and the next Morning the Wind came about to the Weſt, which was to the Enemies Advantage: We lay by expecting them, and employ'd our ſelves in repairing our damage, as much as the time would permit, diſtributing at the ſame time our Ammunition and other things, which we drew from the Store Ships, to the End that every one might be in a readineſs: But the Enemy kept their Station, teſtifying thereby that they had no deſire to renew the Fight that Day. A little after Noon Admiral *Rook* call'd a Council of War, wherein Admiral *Shovel* reported, that the Avant Guard of the Enemy had been continually at ſuch a diſtance that he could not engage them as he deſir'd. Admiral *Rook* with the Center, and we with the Rear Guard, had been engag'd in a very furious Combat, inſomuch that her Maſteſty's Ships under that Admiral had conſum'd the greateſt part of their Powder and Bullets,

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Bullets, that there remain'd but 10 Charges for every Gun, which might be all spent in an hour; thereupon we resolv'd to set sail with the Fleet for *Gibraltar*, to provide our selves there with all Necessaries, as well for the Ships, as for the Place, in case we should see the Enemy no more.

I remov'd upon your High and Mightinesses Ship the *Katwyck*, commanded by Captain *Schryver*, because the *Albermarle*, which I had left under the command of Captain *Visler*, was not in a condition to carry the Flag. All that Night we drove towards the East.

The 26th at break of day we discover'd again the Enemies Fleet between us and the *Streights*, bearing to the North. We lay by to the end that we might join 'em the next day; but the 27th we saw nothing of the Enemy, so that we pursued our Course to *Gibraltar*, according to the Resolution we had taken. At 3 a clock in the Afternoon the Powder unfortunately taking fire in your High and Mightinesses Ship the *Albermarle*, she blew up. Captain *Rombouts* was order'd to go immediately to her Assistance, and sav'd 9 of the Men, but they could not tell in what manner this Accident came. The 4th of the next Month we came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, without any further Action. In a Council of War held the same Day 'twas resolv'd, that the Winter approaching and our Provisions being almost spent, we should refit our damag'd Ships; and Admiral *Rook* having put into *Gibraltar* a Garrison of 2000 *English* Seamen, and furnish'd it with Ammunition and all Necessaries for its defence, we shall repass the *Streights* with the first fair Wind, to return into our Ports; but the Wind having been at West, we are yet a Watering, and taking in Refreshments for our Sick and Wounded upon the Coast of *Barbary*.

This Morning having a fresh Gale at East, we have weigh'd Anchor in pursuance to our Resolutions of returning. I am,

From on Board the

High and Mighty Lords, &c.

*Katwyck*, with-

out the *Streights*

Mouth, the 5th of

September, 1704.

G. Callembourg.

P. S.

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P. S. ' According to the List there has been in the whole Engagement 92 Men kill'd, and 268 wounded in your High and Mightinesses Ships.

To conclude my Relations of this Campaign, which was so fatal to *France*, I shall only add, that the King was so much chagrin'd at the loss of the Battle of *Hochstet*, that his Majesty did not only highly blame the little Care that his General Officers had had of his Glory; but to give them further Marks of his Repentment, he broke 2 Marshals de Camp, 14 Brigadiers, and good part of the Squadrons and Battalions which were made Prisoners of War at the Village of *Bleinheim*, with a Resolution that when an Exchange should be made those Troops should be look'd upon but as Recruits.

The Prisoners, who were about 14000 Men, being divided between the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, some remain'd in *Germany*, others were sent into *Holland*, and some pass'd over into *England*. I was amongst those that were allotted to stay in *Holland*, and my Quarters were assign'd me at *Nimeguen*. I wish'd with all my Heart that I might follow Marshal *Tallard* into *England*, with the other Officers of my Lord Duke's Division; but it was not my Fortune. I pleas'd my self at last with the thoughts of seeing the Principal Towns of *Holland*, which is one of the most agreeable Countries in the World. Besides a plenty of all the Commodities of Life, we enjoy there a Liberty unknown in *France*; we there talk freely of Princes without any manner of Ceremony, and reason upon their Politicks without being oblig'd to dissemble our Sentiments. But in *France* the Glory of the King keeps the People in such a profound Submission, and so great a Slavery, that there is nothing like it to be found in any other part of the World. The present Government is a kind of Tribunal, more to be fear'd than that of the Inquisition either of *Spain* or *Italy*.

If you speak ill of the King, of his Conduct; or his Projects, you have the Marchioness of *Maintenon* to fear, whom we may call the Grand Inquisitor of the Court; you incur the displeasure of the King's Ministers,

Ministers, who are the Executioners of the Marchioness's Orders. You are esteem'd without any other Formality as a disaffected Person, depriv'd of your Employments, and perhaps sent to the Bastile.

When I found all my Endeavours not sufficient to justify my self at the Court of *France*, and that I had at the same time lost all the hopes of my Fortune; I resolv'd to present a Petition to Messieurs the States, wherein I represented to them, that being willing to leave the Service of *France*, I hop'd they would no longer consider me as a Prisoner of War, but be pleas'd to grant me my Liberty to retire where I thought fit.

Messieurs the States answer'd my Request, and gave me my Liberty. Then I wrote to the Elector of *Bavaria* (who had always lov'd me) and begg'd him to grant me the favour to retire to the Court of *Brussels*. His Electoral Highness answer'd me very kindly, that I should be welcome, and bid me take no care for any thing.

Before my departure for *Brussels*, I visited every thing that was remarkable in *Holland*. I made some stay at *Amsterdam* to admire the beauty of the Buildings, the prodigious Stores of all sorts of Ammunition in their Magazines and Arsenals, the greatness of their Commerce, and the Power of a City which seem'd alone able to make War against the King of *France*; yet not so large as *Paris*. The Town-house seems to be an enchanted Building, the proudest and the richest perhaps in the World. One cannot forbear admiring it; that alone is worth a Stranger's time in coming into *Holland* to see it. I had the Curiosity to go to see the Places which they call the *Musico and Spinhuys*, which I have heard much talk of in *France*. In the first we see the Mistresses of Pleasure of all Nations and Countries, dress'd like Queens. They endeavour to entrap Strangers; and prefer a Sailor return'd from the *Indies* with his Jacket pitch'd and tarr'd to an Officer in his Embroidery. They have, during the Night, in these Houses a kind of Ball, where these licentious Women dance with the Sailors to all sorts of Musick. These Places of Debauchery are very dangerous, you cannot frequent them but at the risque of your Purse, and very often of your Life. They say the Republick

1704. tolerates them to prevent greater Evils, and chiefly to amuse the Seamen till they return to the *Indies*.

The *Spinneys*, or Work-houses, are Places of Punishment, where the Lewd Women are confin'd: They make use of these sort of Prisons to accustom them to Work, and make 'em forget their Licentiousness; but when they are set at Liberty 'tis seldom that they are the better, but abandon themselves to their Debauchery more than ever.

1705. A little before the opening of the Campaign of 1705 I arriv'd at *Brussels*. Monsieur the Elector gave me as kind a Reception as I could wish for; he gave me an Apartment at Court, and made me Offers that were very obliging. As he was perswaded of my sincerity, and the Injustice done me at the Court of *France* upon the Subject of the Battle of *Hochstet*, His Highness did not scruple to unbosom himself to me, and express himself in Complaints against the two Kings: He told me, 'That I knew very well that he and his Brother the Elector of *Cologne* had sacrific'd their Dominions to the Interest of the two Crowns; without mentioning (says he) the Services that I did the most Christian King in the last War: That having lost all, both he and his Brother, he had demand'd the Sovereignty of the *Low Countries*, which had been promis'd him; but that he had received no Answer thereupon, any more than of the Subsidies granted by the Treaty concluded with the Marquess de *Bedmar*. I answer'd the Elector, That I was not surpris'd at the conduct of the Court of *France* in regard to him, since I knew that they held it for a Maxim to omit nothing that might engage Princes in their Interest, when they believ'd 'em capable of favouring their Designs; but the War of *Bavaria* having in the last Campaign not answer'd their Expectations, the two Kings would consider him and his Brother no otherwise than a Charge and Burden upon them. I further told the Elector, That it was true that he had done me the Honour to communicate to me the Overtures that the Allies had made him for an Accommodation when his Army encamp'd near *Ausbourg*; but being then engag'd in the Interest of *France* I could not give him any other Answer than what I had done, be.

because I would be faithful to the King ; but at present not having the same Interest under my Care, I would advise him to accept of the same Offers if it happen'd that the Emperor and the Allies should make them to him. The Elector answer'd me thereupon, ' That he was yet undaunted, and, that Honour would not suffer him to be guilty of that weakness should he lose all that he had in the World.

This Campaign afforded nothing considerable in *Bavaria*: The Electress having at the Siege of *Landau* concluded a Treaty with the King of the *Romans*, who is now Emperor, the same was put in execution, and all the Affairs of that Country were regulated by three Administrators which the Emperor had sent thither, (*viz*) the Counts *Wratisslaw*, *Lamberg* and *Mollart* ; the two last had the Care of the Militia, and the other of the Finances. We will here insert an Extract of the Treaty concluded between the Electress and the King of the *Romans*.

I.  
THAT all the Fortresses, Arsenals, Artillery, Ammunition, &c. shall be put into his Imperial Majesty's Hands.

II.  
That the *Bavarian* Troops and Militia shall be dismiss'd, and be at their Liberty either to enter themselves into the Emperor's Service, or return home, upon promise not to bear Arms against the Emperor and Empire.

III.  
That the 18th of the present Month *Ingolstadt*, *Kulfsstein*, and the Castle of *Neubourg* upon the *Inn*, shall be deliver'd up to his Imperial Majesty with their Magazines, Cannon, Ammunition, &c.

IV.  
That every thing shall be restor'd that was carried away from *Tirol*.

V.  
That the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Prisoners shall be exchange'd one for the other, but the *Bavarians* oblig'd under promise not to serve against the Emperor.

1705.

## VI.

That the Town of *Munich* and its Dependencies, shall remain to the Electress, any thing contain'd in this Treaty being excepted.

## VII.

That the new Works made at *Munich* shall be demolish'd, and the Artillery, Ammunition and Magazines deliver'd up to the Emperor.

## VIII.

That a Guard of 400 Men be granted the Electress to be chosen out of the disbanded Troops.

## IX.

That her Electoral Highness's Subsistence, and the other Charges of the Country, shall be regulated by his Imperial Majesty.

## X.

That when every thing shall be executed, if the Electress desires to retire, necessary Passports shall be granted her.

## XI.

The States of *Bavaria* shall be maintain'd in their Privileges.

## XII.

The Ratification of this Treaty shall be exchange'd within 8 Days after the arrival of a Courier from *Vienne*, the Electress promising that she will not commit any Hostilities against the Emperor and Empire during that time; and that the Commerce shall be free and open between the Subjects of both Parties.

The Allies form'd a Project at the opening of this Campaign which would have decided the Fate of the War upon the *Moselle*, by the gain of a Battle, as it had done that in *Bavaria* the preceeding Year. The Court of *France* having foreseen it, took all imaginable Precautions to ward off a Blow, which would have open'd a passage for the Enemies Armies into *Lorraine*, and enable them to carry the War into the Heart of *France*. The King sent Marshal *Villars* there betimes to acquaint himself with the situation of the Country, and gave him a powerful Army, which was afterwards considerably reinforce'd by a Detachment from Marshal *Marsin*. *Villars* encamp'd near *Sirck*, and there expected

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ed the Confederate Army, which began the 15th of May to rendezvous within the Lines of *Treves*. It was compos'd of the Troops of *Denmark*, *Hesse Cassel*, *Hannover*, and a Detachment sent by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. The 26th of the same Month the Duke of *Marlborough* arriv'd in the Army, and took a view of the Country on this side *Centz* upon the *Saar*. He order'd at the same time the Troops to hold themselves in readiness to execute his Designs, and as soon as the *English* had pass'd the *Saar* to come and join him, he review'd his Army and led his Troops between the *Saar* and *Moselle* to *Eft*, a Place within half a League of *Sirck*. This unexpected Motion made the Marshal think that my Lord Duke was resolv'd to attack him, he therefore left his Camp near *Sirck*, and posted himself in another that was more Advantageous, where the front of his Army was cover'd by impracticable Defiles, his right by a Wood, his left by the *Moselle*, and his Rear by a Rivulet. My Lord Duke, at his arrival before *Sirck*, took Post there, and made 300 Men, which the Marshal had left there, Prisoners of War. The Duke of *Lorraine*, alarm'd at the Desolation and Ravages that his Country was threatned with, writ a Letter in very complaisant Terms to the Duke of *Marlborough*, begging the Protection of his Country. This Letter was carried to the Duke by M. *Martigny*, his Royal Highness's grand Huntsman.

The Court of *France*, to stop the progress that the Confederate Generals had in view upon the *Moselle*, and besides please the two Electors, who desired to see the War vigorously prosecuted in the *Low-Countries*, had in the Winter order'd great quantities of Ammunition to be laid up at *Namur*; and gave out publicly in the conquer'd Country they would open the Campaign by the Siege of *Maastricht*. Upon these reports all the Troops to be commanded by Monsieur *Auverquerque*, had Orders to draw together at Mount St. *Peter*, but yet without disconcerting my Lord Duke in his Projects. And as the Confederate Troops were not very numerous, such great Bodies having march'd to the *Moselle*, Monsieur *Auverquerque* thought proper to go and encamp near *Maastricht*, where he intrench'd himself so well, that the Elector and Marshal

*Villeroy*,

1705

*Villeroy*, notwithstanding their superiority, durst not venture to attack him. The Army of the two Crowns under the Command of those two Generals was compos'd of 106 Squadrons and 60 Battallions. The first Motion that they made was towards the Plain of *Vignan*, where they encamp'd. The Night after their arrival there they caus'd a Bridge of Boats to be laid upon the *Maese* at *Basse*, and the 28th of May they invest'd *Huy* with a Detachment under the Command of the Count de *Casse*. The 10th of June the Castle surrendered, the Garrison being made Prisoners of War. The King of France was however uneasy at the aspect of Affairs upon the *Moselle*, and fearing that Marshal *Villars* would undergo the same Fate as the Elector and the Marshals *Tallard* and *Marsin* had done in *Bamberg*, sent Orders to the Duke of *Villeroy* to make a Detachment from his Army of 36 Squadrons and 18 Battallions to reinforce Marshal *Villars*. The Elector and *Villeroy* still making use of the absence of so many Troops which the Duke of *Marlborough* had led with him to the *Moselle*, march'd with their Army towards *Liege*, resolv'd to make the Siege of that Place. The Duke of *Marlborough* in the interim receives a Letter from the States, wherein they give him a Scheme of their Affairs in the *Low Countries*; They represent'd to him the loss of *Huy*, the Siege of *Liege*, which was begun; the Threats that the Elector and *Villeroy* made that they would recover the former Conquests of the Allies. The necessity that there was for him to make a powerful Diversion to oppose their Enterprizes; and if that could not be executed upon the *Moselle*, the States pray'd his Grace to return with his Army towards the *Maese*. The Duke of *Marlborough* finding himself unable to execute his Projects upon that Side; and the difficulty of subsisting with so numerous an Army in such a Desert Country, which had been likewise ruin'd; seeing the slowness of the Troops of some German Princes who were to join him; and the unpracticableness of attacking *Villars*, who besides his superiority of Troops, was posted in an inaccessible Camp, resolv'd at last to March to the Relief of *Liege*. The Elector and Marshal *Villeroy* being inform'd of my Lord Duke's

Duke's returning with his Army, sent back their Artillery to *Namur*, abandon'd the Siege of *Leige*, recall'd the Marquess d' *Alegre* with his Detachment that he had led to the *Moselle*, retir'd within their Lines, and form'd a new Scheme for the rest of the Campaign. Marshal *Villars* seeing himself deliver'd from so formidable an Enemy, made two Detachments, one for the *Low-Countries*, and the other for the Army under the command of Marshal *Marsin*. The Town of *Treves* being abandon'd by the *Palatine* Troops, the *French* entred into it, and took therein 40 peices of Cannon, and the Magazines which were not burnt.

The two Electors, who flatter'd themselves with many Conquests besides the taking of *Leige*, which so nearly concern'd the Elector of *Cologne*, were in an unexpressible chagrin. His *Bavarian* Highness, who breath'd forth nothing but Vengeance, was not a little mortified to see himself again oblig'd to go behind the Lines, and obey the Orders of the *French* Court, which were absolutely not to risque a Battle. They could not understand how my Lord Duke had so soon chang'd his Resolution to leave the *Moselle*, and march with such diligence to the *Maese*. But we may say, that if the return of that Army on one side sav'd *Lorraine*, it on the other side caus'd the loss of the *Low-Countries*, or at least contributed much to the forcing of the Lines; which Enterprize I shall now give an account of, as it was a prelude to the famous Battle of *Ramilles*; a Battel no less fatal to *France* than that of *Hochstet*. The King, to whom the Affairs of the *Moselle* had caus'd great uneasiness, seeing the return of the Confederate Troops into the *Low Countries*, writ the following Letter to the Elector of *Bavaria*.

The King of France's Letter to the Elector of Bavaria.

My Cousin,

I Am very well satisfied with my Cousin the Mar-  
shal *Villars*'s Conduct upon the *Moselle*, by the  
choice that he has made of a Camp, where my Ar-  
my is out of all Insults; which has oblig'd my E-  
nemies, who had conceiv'd great hopes from their

1705.

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Projects upon *Lorraine*, to call back their Troops to the *Mase*, and to make a hasty March to their Army in the *Netherlands*; which has not only ruin'd their Cavalry, but gives us hopes that we shall spend this Campaign without seeing them reap any Advantages from their numerous Armies. To this end I recommend to you to act in concert with my Cousin the Marshal *Villeroy*, to have your principal regard to the defence of the Lines, and to take care of the preservation of my Troops by avoiding an Engagement; endeavouring only to cover the Country. We must conform our selves to the Times, and it is at present neither my Interest, nor that of my Grandson the King of *Spain*, to hazard a Battle in the *Low Countries*. I pray God to have you, my Cousin, under his holy Protection.

*Versailles* the 6th of June, 1705. L O U I S.

6th of June, 1705.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* Army being join'd to that of the Velt. Marshal *Auverquerque* at *Tourne*, these two Generals undertook the Siege of *Huy*, and gave the command of it to General *Schulz*, who made himself Master of it upon the same Conditions as the Elector and *Villeroy* had taken it: the Governor and Garrison being made Prisoners of War. This Expedition was follow'd with the attack of the Lines, which the *French* Generals little expected; they enjoy'd a profound Tranquillity within their Lines, and their Army was very strong. The Elector earnestly wish'd for a Battle, but the King had signify'd that it was not his Design. His Highness thought of nothing but obeying that Monarch's Orders, who was become Master of his Will; and seeing the War continue to be unpleasant and disagreeable to him, he was willing to give himself some Diversion with his Mistresses; and if he had not the pleasure of satisfying his Martial Ambition, yet he had that of diverting himself with the Dames of *Brussels*, who came to visit him in his Camp; but this Scene, full of Charms and Agreement, did not long continue; it was follow'd with the reverse of

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Fortune, which caus'd a strange Revolution in the *Low Countries*; and never were the Elector and Marshal *Villeroy* so chagrin'd as they were after the forcing of the Lines. I shall content my self here with reciting the Letters from the Generals of both Armies, which will be a more circumstantial and satisfactory Account than I can otherwise pretend to give.

The Elector of *Bavaria's* Letter to the King of *France*.

S I R, I Hope your Majesty will not impute to me the Misfortune which has happened by the Enemies becoming Masters of our Lines. I am not ignorant of the ill Impressions your Majesty has received of my Conduct; and if you hearken to every thing that is reported of me, viz. that my evil Star follows me every where, and that so long as I shall be at the Head of your Armies they will be always worsted; there may be People found who will make no scruple to attribute to me the reverse of Fortune which may happen to the War in *Brabant*, as they have done that of *Bavaria*. M. *Villeroy* can do me the justice that is due to me upon this ill grounded Accusation: I crave no indulgence from him; and as it is upon him that your Majesty reposes your Confidence, preferable to all others; that Marshal will inform your Majesty that I have made it my business since the Letter that you writ me, to submit to the Orders and Intention of your Majesty. The Evil is not yet so great as they make it. The Enemy will not advance any further by being Masters of this part of our Lines, and I flatter my self that we shall put a stop to their progress to *Lovain*, and to their Passage over the *Dyle*, by the present situation of our Camp. The *Bavarian* Troops which I have in your Majesty's Service have suffer'd most, so that I feel the first effects of a surprize that we no way expected.

From the Camp at Ber-  
lehem the 18th of  
July, 1705.

I am, Sir,  
Your Majesty's, &c.  
E. de *Bavaria*.  
Mar-

1705.

Marshall Villeroy's Letter to the King of France.

S I R,

THE Enemy, since the taking of *Huy*, have made divers Motions in Order to attack the Lines, and have this day executed their Design near *Hellebeim* by a feint which Monsieur the Elector, and my self did not expect. They caus'd part of their Army to pass the *Meine*, which presented themselves before our Lines on the side of the *Moselle*, as if they had really a Design to force them there. Monsieur the Elector and I being so perswaded, caus'd the greatest part of our Troops to march towards that Post, and we thereby weaken'd our Guards about *Hellebeim*, which they were advis'd of by their Spies. However, the Troops which we had left there under the Command of the *Marquess de Aligre* and Count *Horn*, seeing themselves attacked by the great numbers of the Enemy, divers after they had a long time disputed their Passage, oblig'd at last to give Ground, and the whole Army being pass'd over, that little Body was surrounded, which consisted chiefly of *Bavarians*. Monsieur the Elector was very much concerned at this not being on that side. This Accident ought to be less surprizing to your Majesty, in consideration of the vast extent of the Lines, and that we could not have every where an equal force to defend them, especially when a whole Army made the Attack in one only Place. I shall inform your Majesty more at large of the Circumstances of this Action, which will have no evil Consequences by the diligence with which we have prevented the Enemies March, by taking Post on this side the *Dyle* to cover *Baubant*.

I am, Sir,

From the Camp of *Bethlehem*,  
Your Majesty's, &c.

18th of July,

1705.

VILLEROY.

Now follow the Letters from the Confederate Generals.

The

## The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States.

*High and Mighty Lords,*

I Congratulate your High and Mightinesses upon your happy entry into the Enemies Lines, and upon the defeat of a great Body of the Enemies Army which oppos'd us there. We began our March yesterday about 10 a clock at night. And Montieur the Count of Noyelles, who commanded a Detachment of 38 Squadrons and 26 Battalions, whom I caus'd to advance in order to surprize the Posts of Neerhespen and Hilleheim, has perfectly succeeded, and very much distinguish'd himself: as also the Prince of Hesse, and all the other Generals that were in that Action; the Troops having likewise shewn a Bravery beyond expectation. After the Enemy was repuls'd, I caus'd the Army to advance towards this Place, where I oblig'd the Battalion of Montec which we found there to surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion. I thought this good News required me to send a Person of Distinction to your High and Mightinesses, to give you an account thereof; I have therefore choosen Lieutenant General Hompesch, who had a considerable part in this Action, personally to inform you of the Particulars; I forbear in this my first Letter to give your High and Mightinesses an exact number of all the Prisoners, Cannon, Colours and Standards which we have taken from the Enemy, time not permitting to make an exact enquiry. I design to march to-morrow towards Tournai. I am with an inviolable Respect and Obligation,  
 Your High Mightinesses  
 From the Camp near Tournai  
 at Tintemont, the 18th of July 1705.

*Most Humble and Most Obedient Servant;*  
 The P. and D. of Marlborough.

General

1705.

General Auverquerque's Letter to Monsieur Fagel.

S I R,

AFTER we had resolv'd to attack this morning the Enemies Lines near *Hillesheim*, and force them if the thing was found practicable, we made this Disposition, viz. That in the morning I should march from *Vignamont* with the Army of the States, and post my self before their Lines on the other side the *Maine*, near *Messle*, with a design to allarm them, and sound their Intentions. That the Duke of *Marlborough* should march in the Evening, after their retreat towards *Hillesheim* to execute our true Design, and that I on my side after their retreat should repass the *Maine* to support the Duke. The Enemy really thought that our Armies would undertake something against them on the other side the *Maine*; they caus'd therefore all their Posts thereabouts to be reinforc'd, without taking the same Precautions in the Places where we design'd to attack 'em. We then became Masters of, and pass'd their Lines with all our Army. The *Bavarian* Cavalry who oppos'd us in the beginning, consisted of 24 Squadrons, and is almost intirely ruin'd; as also the two Regiments of *Alsace* and *La Mark*. Besides those that are kill'd, whose number I cannot now exactly inform you, we have taken Prisoners the Marquess of *Allegre* and the Count de *Hornes* Lieutenant Generals; the Baron de *Thauskirchen*, commander of the Elector of *Bavaria's* Carbineers; the Colonel of the Regiment of Curiaffiers of *Wolfranstorf*, and several other Officers. We have also taken from the Enemy 10 pieces of Cannon with 3 Trumpets, besides 8 other pieces of Cannon, amongst which are 3 twenty four Pounders. I do my self the Honour to congratulate you upon this Occasion, and call my self

From the Camp  
at Tirlmont,  
within the Lines,  
the 18th of July,

Your most humble Servant,


Auverquerque.

1705.

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As soon as the Allies had forc'd the Lines, there was nothing to be seen but Desolation throughout all the Country. The Elector and Marshal *Villeroy* were happy in making choice of the Camp of *Berlehem*, where they re-assembled their scattered Army, and thereby prevented the Insurrection and Revolution of a Country sufficiently provok'd thereto by the French Domination, and yet more by the Elector of *Bavaria's* Haughty and Imperious Government.

If the Allies, who had obtained abundance of Glory by making themselves Masters of the Lines, could have push'd their Conquests a little further, they would infallibly have made the same advantages then in the *Low Countries*, as they did the following Campaign. However, they attempt'd the passage of the *Dyle*, and a Detachment of *Dutch* Troops got over at *Nedorisch*, but the *English* found a greater obstacle by the Care that the Elector and Marshal *Villeroy* had taken by causing their Troops to advance and range themselves in order of Battle on the other side the River, so that they were obliged to abandon that Project with some loss; and the Elector and *Villeroy* gloried as much at it as if they had gain'd a set Battle: They applauded their good Fortune, and made an Affair, very inconsiderable in it self, pass for a very great Advantage at the Court of *France*: But their Design was to repair thereby the fault they had been guilty of in weakning the Lines at *Hillesheim*, where they had been forc'd; and at the same time to lessen the chagrin that the King had conceived thereby. But yet the Allies, willing to make use of the good fortune of their Arms, made another Motion towards *Genap* with their whole Army, which gave the Elector some apprehensions of seeing a second *Hochstet* Battle, which would undoubtedly have happen'd if the Ground had permitted. The *French* Army was then posted so advantageously that they had the Wood of *Soignes* on the Right, the little River *Ische* before them, and the *Dyle* on the side of *Neer Ische* on the left, besides the Intrenchments that were made on all Sides to cover them. All these difficulties did not diminish the desire that the Duke of *Marlborough* had to signalize himself. That courageous General earnestly wish'd to try the  
vigour

1705.  vigour of his *English* Troops in a decisive Battle, which would undoubtedly have reduc'd the *Low-Countries* in one Campaign, as it had done that of *Bavaria*. But this project was found unpracticable; the Allies therefore resolv'd to finish this Campaign with the Siege of the little Town of *Som-Lieu*, whose situation being in a Marshy Country made them expect a vigorous resistance. The Place was invested by a Detachment, and the Governor, according to the Directions he had received from the Elector of *Bavaria*, surrendered as soon as the Artillery was ready to fire against the Place. The taking of *Som-Lieu* was followed by the Siege of *Santeliet*, which was surrendered to Count *Nepelles*, and the Garrison made Prisoners of War.

If the War of *Brabant* and *Flanders* was favourable to the Designs of the Confederate Princes this Campaign, the War of *Spain* was no less so. Their Generals became Masters of several Towns upon the Frontiers of *Portugal*; of *Valencia*, *Alicantara*, *Albuquerque* and *Marran*. They forc'd *Marihal Thesse*, who commanded King *Philip's* Army, to abandon his Camp, or accept of a Battle: He chose the former, and having repast the *Guadiana* with his Troops retired under the Cannon of *Badajos*, which Place was threatned with a Siege. Besides all these Conquests the Allies form'd a Project which has caus'd a great Revolution in the Kingdom of *Spain*, I mean the Siege of *Barcelona*. *France*, in the last War, forc'd the Allies to make Peace by taking that important Place; and perhaps the Allies in their turn, will oblige *France* by their taking the same Town to abandon *Spain*, and make a Peace likewise that will be more durable than the last.

To put this Project in Execution, King *Charles* embark'd upon the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet with an Army of 6000 Foot and 3000 Horse; at his arrival he spread throughout *Catalonia* a Manifesto, by which He invited all the People to shake off the Yoke of a strange Prince, whose Government was a perfect Slavery, and would burthen them with all sorts of Calamity: He told 'em, That by abandoning the Duke of *Arjon*, they would not only shew their Obedience

Obedience to their lawful Sovereign, but would taste the Pleasures of a sweet and peaceable Reign, according to the example of other Princes of the House of *Austria*, his Illustrious Predecessors, whose Memory was yet so dear to them. These Circulatory Letters produc'd the Effect, that was expected from them. Nothing was to be seen in *Catalonia* but Revolutions. The People, fatigu'd with the *French* Domination, espoused new Inclinations for a Prince whom they look'd upon as their Deliverer. During the Siege of *Barcelona*, they gave testimonies of their Zeal and Courage, and contributed as much towards the taking of that Place as the Confederate Fleet and Army which made the Siege. *Barcelona* was first attack'd the 13th of *September*, and capitulated the 9th of *October*. The Allies lost there the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who had shewn prodigies of Bravery, during the whole course of this War, and was equally beloved by the People of that Country and the Soldiers. I shall excuse my self from writing a Circumstantial Account of this famous Siege by reciting King *Charles's* Letter to the Queen of *Great Britain*.

King *Charles's* Letter to the Queen of *Great Britain*.

*Madam my Sister,*

I Should not have been so long e're I did my self the Honour to repeat the assurances of my sincere Respects to you, had not I waited for the good Occasion which I now acquaint you with, that the City of *Barcelona* is surrendred to me by Capitulation. I doubt not but you will receive this great News with intire Satisfaction; as well because this happy Success is the effect of your Arms always glorious, as from the pure motives of that Bounty and Paternal Affection you have for me, and for every thing which may contribute to the advancement of my Interest.

I must do this Justice to all the Officers and Common Soldiers, and particularly to my Lord *Peterborough*, that he has shewn in this whole Expedition a Constancy, Bravery, and Conduct worthy of the choice that your Majesty has made of him, and that

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that he could no ways give me better Satisfaction than he has by the great Zeal and Application which he has equally testified for my Interest, and for the Service of my Person. I owe the same justice to Brigadier *Stanhope* for his great Zeal, Vigilance, and very wise Conduct which he has given proofs of upon all Occasions: As also to all your Officers of the Fleet, particularly to your worthy Admiral *Shovel*, assuring your Majesty, that he has assisted me in this Expedition with an inconceivable Readiness and Application, and that no Admiral will be ever better able to render me greater Satisfaction than he has done. During the Siege of *Barcelona*, some of your Majesty's Ships, with the assistance of the Troops of the Country have reduced the Town of *Tarragona*, and the Officers are made Prisoners of War. The Town of *Girona* has been taken at the same time by surprize by the Troops of the Country. The Town of *Lerida* has submitted, as also that of *Tortosa* upon the *Ebro*; so that we have taken all the Places of *Catalonia* except *Rosès*. Some Places in *Aragon* near *Sarragossa* have declar'd for me, and the Garrison of the Castle of *Denis* in *Valencia* have maintained their Post, and repuls'd the Enemy: 400 of the Enemies Cavalry have entered into our Service, and a great number of their Infantry have deserted.

This, Madam, is the State that your Arms, and the inclination of the People have put my Affairs in. It is unnecessary to tell you what stops the course of these Conquests. It is not the season of the year, nor the Enemy, these are no obstacles to your Troops, who desire nothing more than to act under the Conduct that your Majesty has appointed them. The taking of *Barcelona* with so small a number of Troops is very remarkable, and what has been done in this Siege is almost without example. That with 7 or 8000 Men of your Troops, and 2000 Miquelets we should surround and invest a Place that 30000 *French* could not block up.

After a March of 13 hours the Troops climb'd up the Rocks and Precipices to attack a Fortification stronger than the Place, which the Earl of *Peterborough*

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' *borough* has sent you a Plan of: Two Generals with  
 ' the Granadiers attack'd it Sword in Hand, in which  
 ' Action the Prince of *Hesse* died gloriously after so  
 ' many brave Actions: I hope his Brother and his  
 ' Family will always have your Majesty's Protection;  
 ' with 800 Men they forc'd the Cover'd Way, and all  
 ' the Intrenchments and Works one after another, till  
 ' they came to the last Work which surrounded it,  
 ' against 500 Men of regular Troops which defended  
 ' the Place, and a Reinforcement that they had re-  
 ' ceiv'd; and three days afterwards we became Ma-  
 ' sters of the Place: We afterwards attack'd the Town  
 ' on the side of the Castle. We landed again our Can-  
 ' non and the other Artillery with inconceivable Trou-  
 ' ble, and form'd two Camps distant from each other  
 ' three Leagues, against a Garrison almost as nume-  
 ' rous as our Army, whose Cavalry was double the  
 ' strength of ours. The first Camp was so well in-  
 ' trench'd that 'twas defended by 2000 Men and the  
 ' Dragoons, whilst we attack'd the Town with the  
 ' rest of our Troops: The Breach being made, we pre-  
 ' par'd to make a general Assault with all the Army:  
 ' These are Circumstances, Madam, which distinguish  
 ' this Action perhaps from all others.

' There has happen'd an unforeseen Accident: The  
 ' cruelty of the pretended Viceroy, and the report  
 ' spread abroad that he would take away the Prisoners  
 ' contrary to the Capitulation, provok'd the Burghers  
 ' and some of the Country People to take up Arms  
 ' against the Garrison, whilst they were busie in pack-  
 ' ing up their Baggage, which was to be sent away  
 ' the next day; so that every thing tended to slaugh-  
 ' ter; but your Majesty's Troops entering into the  
 ' Town with the Earl of *Peterborough*, instead of seek-  
 ' ing Pillage, a practice common upon such Occasions,  
 ' they appeas'd the Tumult, and have sav'd the Town,  
 ' and even the Lives of their Enemies, with a Disci-  
 ' pline and Generosity without example.

' What remains is, that I return you my most hear-  
 ' ty Thanks for sending so great a Fleet and such good  
 ' and valiant Troops to my assistance. After so hap-  
 ' py a beginning I have thought it proper, according  
 ' to the Sentiments of your Generals and Admirals

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to support by my presence the Conquests that we have made, and to shew my Subjects, so Affectionate to my Person, that I can not abandon them. I receive such Succours from your Majesty and from your Generous Nation, that I am loaded with your Bounty, and am not a little concern'd to think that the support of my Interest should cause so great an expence; but Madam, I sacrifice my Person, and my Subjects in *Catalonia* expose also their Lives and Fortunes upon the assurances they have of your Majesty's generous Protection. Your Majesty and your Council knows better than we do what is necessary for our Conservation. We shall then expect your Majesty's Succours with an intire Confidence in your Bounty and Wisdom. A further force is necessary; we give no small diversion to *France*, and without doubt they will make their utmost Efforts against me as soon as possible; but I am satisfied that the same Efforts will be made by my Allies to defend me. Your Goodness, Madam, inclines you, and your Power enables you to support those that the Tyranny of *France* would oppress. All that I can insinuate to your Wisdom and that of your Allies, is, that the Forces employ'd in this Country will not be unprofitable to the Publick Good, but will be under an Obligation and Necessity to act with the utmost Vigour against the Enemy. I am,

*With an inviolable Affection, Respect,*

*And most sincere Acknowledgment,*

*Madam, my Sister,*

*From the Camp  
at Senia before  
Barcelona, the  
22d of Octo-  
ber, 1705.*

*Your most Affectionate Brother*

CHARLES.

The Campaign being ended in *Flanders*, the Elector came to *Brussels* there to spend the Winter. The People, who had receiv'd him, when he left *Bavaria*, as a Prince that had lost all there, in losing the Battle

Battle of *Hochstet*, and was come amongst them to command as Sovereign, made him all imaginable Honours, and emulated each other in their Marks of Zeal and Affection: But after the attack and taking of the Lines by the Confederates, the State of the *Low-Countries* alter'd, and that of his Electoral Highness, who had the Government of it chang'd also, and his reception was otherwise at *Brussels* than it us'd to be. When good Fortune abandons Princes Arms they lose at the same time the Affection of their People. The Court of *France* had now no longer the same regard and complaisance for the Elector as they had heretofore. I have seen several Letters that Monsieur *Chamillard* writ to him full of haughtiness, and express in such terms as were not becoming a Minister of State to a Sovereign Prince. If he had writ to an Intendant of a Province, or a Governor of some Place that had been deficient in his Duty, I am perswaded that he would not have express'd himself with more Pride. The Elector had only this to comfort him, that the Duke of *Savoy* being likely to be reduc'd to the same state, *France* might with the same assurance propose the Restitution of the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, as the Allies could the Duke of *Savoy*.

The Elector having pass'd over the Winter at *Brussels*, began to hope for a more prosperous Campaign than the two last that he had made. Marshal *Villeroy* came betimes into the *Netherlands*, and gave the Elector a Plan of the Projects form'd by the Court of *France* for the approaching Campaign. This Plan contain'd four famous Expeditions which were to be made at the beginning of the Year. The two first were to put an end to the War in *Italy*, to drive the Duke of *Savoy* intirely out of his Dominions, and push Prince *Eugene* back into the *Trentin*. The third respected the War of *Spain*, and was totally to ruin King *Charles* his Party. The fourth respected the War of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and gave hopes of driving the Allies out of all the Conquests they had made in the *Low-Countries*. These four Designs had been seriously deliberated upon in a Council of War held at *Versailles*, where all the Generals assisted; and the execution of 'em was judg'd absolutely necessary.

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to raise the Glory of his Majesty's Arms, and recall Fortune, who had seem'd to abandon them in the preceding Campaigns. The first of these Projects was to attack the Imperialists in *Lombardy* before they had received the Succours that they expected. The second was the Siege of *Turin*. The third was the Siege of *Barcelona*. The fourth was a Battle in *Flanders*. In this Plan the King had nam'd the Generals, and appointed the divisions of his Armies. The Duke of *Vendome* was to command an Army of 36000 Men in *Lombardy*; the Duke de *Feuillade* to besiege *Turin* with 30000 Men; Marshal *Tesse* was to command under King *Philip* an Army of 30000 Men to besiege *Barcelona*; and another Army of 20000 Men was to act in *Estremadura* under the command of the Marshal Duke of *Berwick*. Marshal *Villars* was to command upon the *Rhine*; Marshal *Marsin* upon the *Moselle*; and the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal *Villeroy* were to have an Army of 70000 in the *Low-Countries*.

The King's Arms had immediately their desir'd success in *Italy*, which overjoy'd the Court, and made his Majesty conceive the best hopes in the World from the Projects that he had form'd for this Campaign. The King had advice that the Fortrefs of *Montmellion*, after a three years blockade, surrendred the 17th of *September*. *Nice* was besiegd, and surrendred to the Arms of *France* the 4th of *January*, and in fine the Duke of *Vendome* happily succeeded in his first Project; for making use of Prince *Eugene's* absence, and the weakness of the Imperialists, he attack'd them the 19th of *April* at *Calcinato*, and gain'd a signal Victory.

The King's Letter to the Cardinal de *Noailles* upon the Battle of *Calcinato*.

My Cousin,

I Could not hope for a more happy and glorious Advantage at the beginning of this Campaign, than that which my Cousin the Duke of *Vendome* has signally obtain'd in *Italy*. This Victory was so soon after his return to the Army, that the Enemy, who were intrench'd between *Montechiaro* and *Calcinato*,

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cinato, knew nothing of it but by their defeat. The advantageous Post that they were posselt of seem'd to secure 'em from all attacks, and it is almost incredible that they should be forc'd there; but the Experience of the D. of Vendome, the Courage of my Soldiers, and the just Confidence that they have in him, have surmounted all these Obstacles. After having been oblig'd to break and form themselves again several times under a continual Fire, to pass several Ditches and deep Canals where the Enemy were intrench'd, they bore the last charge of the Enemy within half Pistol Shot, without firing a piece, and afterwards rush'd Sword in Hand into their Posts. As the resistance has been vigorous on the part of the Enemy, their loss is very considerable. They have left above 3000 dead on the Field of Battle, and have had as many made Prisoners; we have taken 6 pieces of Cannon, above 1000 Horses, 25 Colours and 12 Standards. The Duke of Vendome making use of this Victory, and their Consternation, march'd without loss of time to Salo and Gavardo, where the rest of their Army was; but at his approach they took flight with so much precipitation towards the Mountains of the Trentin, that in this general Rout they have abandon'd their Arms, their Baggage, and cast into the Lake de Garde 4 pieces of Cannon. A Victory so compleat is the more welcome, as I have lost but very few Officers and Soldiers, and the more advantageous by the Enemies abandoning the Posts that they were posselt of on the Adige, where they entred 5 Years since into Italy. This puts the Duke of Vendome into a condition to execute with the like success the other Projects which I have form'd. I would not defer giving Thanks to God upon so glorious an Occasion.

Versailles the 4th  
of May, 1706.

LOUIS.

and lower

Philippeaux.

This good Fortune at the beginning of the Campaign encourag'd the Court of France; and M. Cham-

1706. *millara* writ to the D. de Fenillade to begin immediately the Siege of *Lerin*. The French Army being advanc'd before that Capital, the Troops took possession of the Ports that were assign'd them. A Plan of the Country was drawn up, and the Attacks were form'd. The Project of the Siege of *Barcelona* was also put in execution. King *Philip*, before his departure from *Madrid* upon this Expedition, call'd together all the Grandees, and the other Lords of Distinction, and told them, ' That having resolv'd to ' take the Field, to put a stop to his Enemies Con- ' quests, the licentiousness of the Rebels, and reduce ' them to their Obedience, and deliver his faithful ' Subjects from a Foreign Yoke; He would leave the ' Administration of Affairs to the Queen his Spouse, ' during his absence, who, after she had a long time ' refus'd it, did at last accept of it: That he had to ' much Confidence in their fidelity as to hope they ' would second his good Intentions, assist him with ' their Counsels, and give him all the help they could. After this Speech the King departed for *Catalonia*. The Allies in *Portugal* making use of the absence of that Prince, whose chief Strength was employ'd at the famous Siege of *Barcelona* made a powerful Diversion. They enter'd into *Castile*, made themselves Masters of *Alcantaria*, *Coria* and *Piacentia*, and push'd their Conquests farther into the Country, resolving to march to *Madrid*. My Lord *Gallway*, to induce the People by gentle Methods to submit to King *Charles* his Government, publish'd a Declaration to this effect.

' AS it is publickly known, that throughout the ' whole Progress of this War, the most Serene ' Queen of *Great Britain* and her Allies, far from be- ' ing Enemies to *Spain*, have sent their Troops and ' Fleets to that Kingdom for no other reason than to ' assist the good *Spaniards* in shaking off the Yoke of ' the French Domination, and placing upon the ' Throne of *Spain* his most Excellent Majesty King ' *Charles* III. It has pleas'd the most Serene Queen to ' procure the *Spaniards* the glory of concurring with ' her in an Enterprize so honourable as that of re-esta- ' blishing their Liberty, and the Happiness of their ' Native

Native Country. She commands us to declare again that her good pleasure is, that we come in her Name to succour and assist them. We therefore, by these presents do declare and publish, to all the *Spanish* Generals, Commanders, Officers and Soldiers of whatsoever degree they are, that are willing to leave the Duke of *Anjou's* Service, and submit themselves in obedience to his Majesty King *Charles III.* and come over to us, shall be maintained in his Catholick Majesty's Service in the same Post, Honours and Degrees as they enjoy'd before, without any exception; and that from the same hour they shall be punctually paid upon the same Conditions as they have serv'd heretofore, out of the Monies that the said most Serene Queen has put into our Hands for those glorious Ends. So that we have reason to hope, that there will be no *Spaniard* of Reputation, but what will embrace so favourable an opportunity of having the honour to deliver his Country from a base Slavery, and procuring to himself thereby the Esteem of his lawful Sovereign.

*Alcantara* the 15th  
of April, 1706.

The Rapidity of the Conquests of the Allies alarmed all *Castile*. The Duke of *Berwick* having but a few Troops was not able to oppose 'em; so that 'twas resolv'd at last to call back the Troops that were in the Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Navarre*. The three Orders of Chivalry, the Nobles of *Castile*, and the Militia of the Country were all summon'd to appear in Arms. The young Queen, who was not accusom'd to all these Commotions, began to think of leaving *Castile*, and seeking an Asyle in some other Province of the Kingdom. Every thing was in the greatest Confusion; her Majesty call'd the Grandees of *Spain* and the Magistrates of *Madrid*, and made the following Speech to 'em.

I Have call'd you together here, and was willing to come my self, to tell you the Necessities of the State: I can't hide them from you, whilst the King exposes

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' exposes his Person for your defence. Heaven blesses  
 ' his Arms in *Catalonia*, and we hope in a little time  
 ' to see the Reduction of that Rebellious Province,  
 ' but things do not go so in *Estremadura*; the *Portu-*  
 ' *guese* advance. Can you quietly see such Enemies  
 ' approach, and not think of exerting your utmost  
 ' Efforts to make 'em repent of their Audaciousness.  
 ' The King is occupied in the preservation of the  
 ' Monarchy; you ought to make appear in this pres-  
 ' ring Necessity your Fidelity and your Zeal in sacri-  
 ' ficing every thing for the King, for me, and your  
 ' selves. There is a necessity of powerful and present  
 ' Succours. I am the first Queen that perhaps ever  
 ' came in this Place upon the like Occasion. When  
 ' I give such extraordinary Marks of my Affection, it  
 ' is but reasonable that you should do something for  
 ' me, and defend me.

King *Philip* and Marshal *Theſſe*, having pass'd the  
*Ebro* and the *Segra*, entred into *Catalonia* with one  
 Army; another *French* Army, which was command-  
 ed by the Duke of *Noailles*, entred that Province ano-  
 ther way. The 3d of *April* these two Armies were  
 join'd together in a great Plain, between *Montjoui* and  
*Lobregat*, the Siege of *Barcelona* was begun the next  
 day. The Marquess *de Legal* having taken the com-  
 mand of the Army which the Duke of *Noailles* brought  
 thither, invested the Place on the side of *Beser*, and  
 the Marshal *Theſſe* on the side of *Lobregat*. Count  
*Tholouse*, Great Admiral of *France*, was likewise ar-  
 riv'd there with a Squadron of Men of War, and a  
 great number of other Ships laden with Artillery,  
 and all Sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, and he  
 invested the Place by Sea. But in spite of all these  
 prodigious Preparations King *Philip* was oblig'd to  
 abandon the Siege of *Barcelona*; and as the raising  
 that Siege was one of the most glorious Events to  
 the Confederates which this Campaign afforded, I  
 am perswaded that the recital of divers Letters which  
 inform us of the Particulars of that Expedition, will  
 not be unacceptable. Marshal *Theſſe*, when he left  
 his Camp, writ the following Letter to the Earl of  
*Peterborough*.

My

*My Lord,*  
 ' Y O U render me, by these Circumstances, very  
 ' glorious to you, and very unfortunate to me,  
 ' what I did a year since at the Siege of *Badajos*, to  
 ' my Lord *Galway*. You see the evil necessity that I  
 ' am in to raise the Siege by the arrival of your Fleet,  
 ' and by the retreat of ours. These Conjunctions  
 ' hinder me from carrying off many wounded Men:  
 ' But your Humanity and Generosity make me hope  
 ' that you will give order that care be taken of 'em.  
 ' I pray you, my Lord, that you would send a Guard  
 ' to protect 'em from any ill Treatment from the Mi-  
 ' squillets and the People. I take the Liberty of send-  
 ' ing you by this Trumpeter this Money, which I pray  
 ' you to order to be given to those who have the care  
 ' of the Hospitals, that the sick may be taken care of,  
 ' and afterwards more shall be remitted to them. The  
 ' Fatality of War is at present to your Glory and my  
 ' Misfortune.

*I am,*

*Beyond all Expression,*

*My Lord,*

*Your most Humble and*

*From the Camp at  
 Barcelona, the  
 13th of May,  
 1706.*

*Most Obedient Servant,*

*The Marshal of Thesse.*

King *Charles the III*d's Letter to the Duke of  
*Marlborough.*

*My Lord Duke and Prince.*

' Y O U could never have given me more con-  
 ' vincing proofs of your Zeal and Concern for  
 ' my Service, and the good of the Common Cause,  
 ' than by interposing your good Offices with the  
 ' Queen, your Mistress, in order that the Fleet and  
 ' Forces she had design'd for my Service, might use the  
 ' diligence they have shewn to come hither. My  
 ' City

## The Marquis De L——ry's

City of *Barcelona*, wherein I chose to continue to encourage the Garrison and Inhabitants to a long and vigorous defence, was reduc'd to such Extremities, that without the arrival of the Fleet and Succours, it was to be fear'd that the Enemies, who were actually lodg'd upon the point of the Counterscarp, and had made a sufficient Breach, would have taken the Place in a very little time. I do hereby acquaint you with so fortunate an Event, and while I hope that the rest of this Campaign will answer this noble beginning, I flatter my self to hear likewise in a short time good News from you, and the glorious Operations that you will perform by your own Valour, and that of the Troops under your Command. The Queen your Mistress, and the King the States-General could not think of a more than in sending hither the Count de *Beaumont*, and Brigadier *Stanhope*, assuring you that their Persons have always been, and always will be, acceptable to me. I do not question but you interest'd your self in the choice of both, as you do in every thing that may promote my Interests, and those of the Common Cause; whereupon I pray God to keep you, my Lord Duke and Prince, in his holy Protection, and I assure you of my perfect Esteem and Gratitude.

*Barcelona, May the*  
10th, 1706.

CHARLES.

King Charles III's second Letter to the Duke of  
*Mariborough.*

*My Lord Duke and Prince,*

BY these few Lines which you will receive with my Letter of the 10th Instant, I thought fit to impart to you a new Joy I have to see my City of *Barcelona* entirely deliver'd from the Siege. Never any retreat was made with greater Precipitation than that which the Enemy have made, having left behind them 140 pieces of Brass Cannon, and such a prodigious quantity of Ammunition and Provisions that the same is incredible. I do not question but you will be inform'd by another way of the Particulars

culars of the Siege, and therefore I shorten this present Letter, praying God to keep you my Lord Duke and Prince in his Holy Protection. 1706

Barcelona, May the  
12th, 1706.

CHARLES.

Prince *Lichtenstein's* first Letter to the Count *de Goer*, his Imperial Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States General.

S I R,

His will inform you that the Confederate Fleet or Squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral *Lea*, with the Succours and Land Forces arriv'd the 8th of this Month. The Enemies Fleet having notice of their approach fled the night before, and without doubt are retir'd to *Thoulon*. This has given his Majesty and this City unspeakable Joy, and so much the greater in that the Enemies and the Duke of *Anjou*, who was in Person with their Army, look'd upon themselves to be already Masters of *Barcelona*; as indeed they were in a fair way of being: For their Miners were got under the point of the Counterscarp, and they had already made so considerable a Breach that in two days at furthest they would have been ready for a general Assault; tho' it is not to be doubted it would have cost them much Blood, and some Thousands of Men; for what was ruin'd by Day was repair'd by Night, with incredible diligence and dispatch by means of Fascines; and a very good and strong Intrenchment was made behind the Wall, furnish'd with Cannon and Patereroes: but notwithstanding this it would have been impossible without Succours to keep the Place many days, because the best Troops and the greatest part of the *English* and *Dutch* were kill'd or taken in the defence of *Montjoui*, so that there were not 1000 Men left, *Germans*, *English* and *Dutch*, together to defend the City; and they were oblig'd to do most of the Service because we could not much depend upon the others, who might be in number about 1400 *Neapolitans* or *Catalans*, all unexperienc'd and

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and undisciplin'd Men. Tho' the day before th  
City was besieg'd his Catholick Majesty was re-  
solv'd to retire to *Terragona* or *Tortosa*, yet contrary  
to my Lord *Peterborough's* advice, the Count de *Ci-  
fuentes's* and Mine, upon the Remonstrances and In-  
treaties of the Estates of the Country, and the Ma-  
gisistrates of this City, he determin'd to stay in the  
Town besieg'd to animate, by his presence, the Gar-  
rison and his faithful Burghers and Subjects, to  
make a vigorous and long resistance. Notwith-  
standing the said Lord and the Count *Cifuentes* wrote  
afterwards to his Majesty, especially after the loss  
of the strong Castle of *Montjovry*; and tho' I being  
present said all I could to perswade him to go out of  
the Place, and open himself a passage by the help  
of the Cavalry we had, or else, which was better  
 approv'd by every one, to retire by Sea, by the  
means of Four Frigats that were always ready, and  
one small one that hover'd about the Road (my  
Lord *Peterborough* being in the Neighbourhood to  
facilitate his Majesty's escape) yet he persisted in his  
resolution to continue in the Place to the last extre-  
mity, and not to make use of those Four Frigats  
till no more resistance could be made, till the ex-  
treamest danger should compel him to it, and till  
there was no possibility of defending the City any  
longer.

I must do Justice to the *English* and *Dutch* Troops,  
and to the Generals that commanded them, and e-  
specially to my Lord *Donegal*, who was kill'd in the  
attack of Fort *Montjovry*; as also to the *Dutch* Bri-  
gadier St. *Amand*, his Majesty's Major General; to  
the Count de *Ulefeldt*, Governour of *Barcelona*, and  
the Landgrave *Henry* of *Hesse*, by acknowledging  
that by their Bravery, Vigilance and Application  
Night and Day they have defended the City hither-  
to. But 'tis certain that had his Majesty retir'd all  
had been in the greatest Confusion, and perhaps the  
Place would have held out but few days.

The Enemies Army fearing to be surpriz'd by the  
strong Garrison now in the Place, keep close toge-  
ther; and tho' the Siege still continues, yet seeing  
they fire but with three pieces of Cannon, which  
are

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are indeed very large, we make no doubt but that in a few days they will raise the Siege and retire. In case they do, I hope we shall charge their Rear, and that the Peasants of the level Country, and the Miquelets of the Hills, will not forget themselves, but will, in hopes of getting Booty, fall upon them, and do them great damage in their Retreat.

By a Frigate that is to sail in two or three days for Genoa, I will be sure to give you a more particular Account of our Success; in the mean time,

I am, &c.

## LICHTENSTEIN.

Barcelona, the  
10th of May,  
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Prince Lichtenstein's second Letter to the Count  
de Goes.

SIR,

THE Frigate that I design'd to send my first Letter by, dated two days since to Lisbon, having not yet put to Sea, I shall tell you here in a few Words, that the City is now entirely deliver'd from the Siege, and that last Night and this Morning the Enemy is absolutely retir'd with so much precipitation that they have abandon'd the greatest part of their Baggage, all their Artillery and Ammunition, viz) 106 pieces of Brass Cannon, sound and in good Condition; 23 Mortars, the greatest part of 'em with their Carriages; 3230 Quintals of Powder; 26000 Bullets; 4300 Bombs; 6500 Granadoes Royal; 12300 Hand Granadoes; 960 Quintals of Balls; 280 Quintals of Lead; 40000 Cartridges all made up; 18000 Instruments to open the Ground with; 8 Tuns of a Composition for Fire Works; 6000 Sacks of Meal; a large quantity of Wheat; 6000 Sacks of Oats, and above 1000 sick and wounded Men who were found in their Camp, and a great many other Preparations which we could scarce have believ'd if we had not seen them.

So

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‘ So that we may Conjecture by the Enemies Motion that they will march on the side of *Rosellon*, which makes us believe that they look upon *Spain* as lost, and that they have no more hopes of supporting any longer that Kingdom and these Provinces, especially since my Lord *Ormy* has taken *Perpignan*, and obtained a great Victory over them : And, according to the report of a Trumpeter whom the Marshal *Trefse* sent hither this day, with a Message relating to the sick and wounded that he left behind him, the Dutches of *Arrou* is certainly retired toward *Pampeluna*; and all *Spain* is in Trouble and Confusion. The Cavalry which was sent from this Fortress being join’d by several Thousand armed Men out of this Neighbourhood and the Mountains, has attack’d the Enemy in their Retreat, and done them a great deal of damage; and we do not doubt but that before they are march’d out of *Catalonia* they will lose the greatest part of the remainder of their Army; or that their Men will desert, there being last Night and this Morning not less than 300 *German* and *French* come over to us, and we have yet others come every hour and every moment, some out of Affection, and others out of the Fear they have of the *Chablers*, who are arriv’d on all sides; and, in fine, by an Effect of the just Hand of God, who has visibly assisted his Majesty and the High Allies. But that which is most remarkable, altho’ according to the course of the Stars is yet surprizing, that in the Morning about a quarter after 9 a clock, when the Enemies Army was in full March and Confusion, the Sun was eclipsed for the space of six minutes to that degree, that the Day seem’d to be Night. Thus the Crown of *France*, which carries the Sun for its Device, lost its Glory in the Plains of *Barcelona*, and rendred at last to the King and lawful Sovereign of *Spain* the whole Monarchy that she had usurp’d.

‘ I heartily congratulate your Excellency upon this happy and glorious Success, and I hope I shall be able in a little time to give you a further Account of other such like glorious Progresses. *I am, &c.*

*Barcelona*, the 12th  
of May, 1706.

Lichtenstein.

This

This Campaign may be well call'd a Campaign of Affliction for the Court of *France*; among the four Projects that the King had form'd, that of the Siege of *Barcelona*, which was one of the most Important thus miscarried. There were only two remaining to be executed; one of which was to give Battle to the Allies in the *Low-Countries*, and the other to make themselves Masters of *Turin*, the Siege of which Place was already begun. As to the Project of the Battle I ought to tell you, that before the *French Army* was form'd, the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal *Villeroy* took two Engineers with them, and under the pretence of Hunting, examin'd the Ground about *Ramillies*. They pass'd by the Plain that is between *Tirlemont* and *Judoigne*, and that Post was mark'd out for the first Motion that the *French Army* was to make as soon as they should pass the *Dyle*. Being advanc'd on the other side towards the Village of *Ramillies*, the Elector and *Villeroy* carefully examin'd all the ground about that Post, and found it very advantageous, they chose it for the Field of Battle, and order'd the Engineers to draw a Plan of it. According to the Disposition which they design'd, the Right of their Army was to be cover'd by the Village of *Taviers*, and one part of the Front by the Hedges; the left was to extend it self towards *Judoigne*, where it would be cover'd by a Marsh and by the *Geet*. The Town of *Ramilly* was to be the Center. As the Left could not be attack'd they resolv'd to place upon the Right all the choice Troops, and to begin the Combat on that side. According to this Plan they thought it proper to post in the Village of *Taviers* a Brigade of Infantry, which was to be supported by some Regiments of Dragons on foot; 20 pieces of Cannon, and 10 Batallions were to be plac'd in the Village of *Ramilly*; all the Cavalry of the King's House, and the Cuirassiers of the Elector were to be posted on the Right Wing, and the other Troops on the Left. The Engineers having drawn their Plan out fair, the Elector and *Villeroy* join'd thereto the Order of Battle, and sent it to the King by a Courier.

'Tis impossible to express how grating the News of the Siege of *Barcelona* being rais'd was to the Elector of *Bavaria*;

1706.

*Bavaria*; his Highness receiv'd a Letter from the King by an Express upon that Subject a little before the Battle of *Ramilly*. Marshal *Villeroy* likewise receiv'd one at the same time. His Majesty observ'd to them the Necessity that there was to conceal this Event from the Allies, and attack them before they knew any thing of it: That they ought besides to execute this Project before the arrival of several Bodies of Troops which were design'd to reinforce their Army, and would by their arrival render the Battle more uncertain: That he did not doubt, but that his Army, which was compos'd of the Troops of his House, and the oldest Regiments of *France*, would obtain a Victory over his Enemies, who were much inferior to them: That it was necessary that they should take this advantage of the Courage of his Troops, and the good Condition of his Cavalry, and above all keep secret the Disappointment that his Arms had met with in *Catalonia*, lest that should chill the vigour of his Soldiers: That he had received the Plan of the Ground which they had chosen, and the order of Battle that they had form'd, and having examin'd 'em both he approv'd of them, and recommended 'em to put their Design in execution without any loss of Time.

The Elector and Marshal *Villeroy* immediately drew together their Army, according to his Majesty's order, and encamp'd behind the *Dyle* in the same Post that they had been in the year before. The Army was compos'd of 150 Squadrons and 90 Battallions of chosen Troops, and those of the King's House. It was the finest Army that *France* has shewn since the beginning of the War. That of the Allies assembled near *Tongres*, and was compos'd of 117 Squadrons and 80 Battallions. The Elector and *Villeroy* having pass'd the *Dyle* made a motion towards *Tirlemont* and *Faldoigne*, according to their Plan. They could not choose a better time than by taking the advantage of the absence of the King of *Prussia's* Troops, the *Hessians* and *Lunenburghers* which were expected in the Confederate Army. The 23d his Electoral Highness and *Villeroy* made a second Motion toward *Ramilly*, and rang'd their Army in order of Battle, the Right Wing towards

towards the Village of *Taviers*, their Left towards *Judoigne*, and the Village of *Kamilly* in their Center. In this Disposition they expected the Allies, who at the same time were in Motion about *Cortis* and *Ton-rine* to meet them; the *Danish* Troops under the command of the Duke of *Wirtembourg* were then ready to join them. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Vicer-Marshal *Auverquerque* made another Motion with their Army towards the rise of the *Geet*, and there rang'd themselves in order of Battle in a Plain. All the *English* Troops and *Danish* Infantry were plac'd on the Right, and the Left was form'd with the *Dutch* Cavalry and Infantry, the Troops of *Holstein Gottorp*, and the *Swiss*; the *Danish* Cavalry was plac'd behind the Left to make a third Line. The Artillery was planted upon the Eminences, and began to play on both sides about 2 a clock in the Afternoon. 4 *Dutch* Battallions, viz. 2 of the *Prize* Guards, 1 of *Salisk*, and 1 of *Slangenbourg* began the Attack and charg'd the *French* Dragoons, who were posted on Foot between the Hedges, and put them to the rout: some *French* Infantry being come to the assistance of the Dragoons to flank the *Dutch* were likewise routed. Then the Cavalry of the two Armies began to engage and mix one with the other. The Duke of *Marlborough* thereupon caus'd the *Danish* Cavalry to make a Motion and flank the *French* Cavalry. The Duke of *Wirtembourg*, who commanded the *Danes*, executed that Project with all imaginable expedition, and caus'd his Squadrons to march between the Left of the *French* Army and the Village of *Taviers*; but having found a Marsh in his way was forc'd to stop at the end of his first Line, where he attack'd the *French* with abundance of Bravery and Resolution. The Gendarmery and the Musqueteers of *France* forc'd some Squadrons of the first Line of the Allies to give ground, and repuls'd others which advanc'd to support them. But a third Body of Cavalry, having at their Head the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, being come up to support them, they rallied and return'd to the Charge with new vigour, all the Cavalry of the Allies seconding them. The Troops of the King's House were then disorder'd and entirely broken, 8 of their Squadrons were push'd

1706. by the *Danes* into a March. The Dragoons of *Holstein* of General *Dupé*, and the *Danco* Horse-Guards push'd also in their turn the Troops of the King's Route. The *French* Cavalry having been routed in spite of all the Care that the Elector and Marshal *Villeroy* took to rally them, the Infantry were attack'd on all sides: the Battalions that were in the open Fields suffer'd extremely, and were at last broken. The Villages of *Ramilly* and *Taxis* were attack'd by Detachments. The Dragoons which were possess'd of the last Post took flight, and abandon'd their Horses. The *Danes* attack'd the Infantry and put 'em to the rout Sword in Hand. The Troops which were in the Village of *Ramilly* were in their turn attack'd by the Battalions of different Nations, they were fallen upon both in Flank and Front, and this was the last Scene of a Battle that has decided the Destiny of the *Low Countries*, as the Battle of *Hochstet* did that of *Bavaria*. There was nothing but Disorder and Confusion amongst the *French* Troops. The Elector and Marshal *Villeroy* seeing their Right defeated, made a Motion with their Left to come to their Assistance, which the Duke of *Mariborough* observing, caused the *English* and *Danes* who were on his Right to advance; then his Electoral Highness and Marshal *Villeroy* seeing themselves under a necessity of retreating, took the Rout for *Loosain*. The General's Letters of both Armies relating to this famous Battle are as follows.

The Elector of *Bavaria*'s Letter to the King of *France*.

S I R,  
 IF the Events of the Battle of *Ramilly* had answer'd the hopes we expected from it, it would not have been the loss but the gain of a Battle that I should have acquainted your Majesty with. There is no fault to be imputed to the Generals which have commanded, nor the Troops which have fought: but to a fatality without Example. I have a Heart so full of that Misfortune that I cannot express to your Majesty the burthen that I labour under. The loss, Sir, of the Battle of *Ramilly*, which has been as fatal as that of *Hochstet*, convinces me, that 'tis not

not the number of an Army, nor the advantageous situation of a Camp, nor the Courage of Soldiers that give the Victory, but God alone. When I seriously consider of all that has pass'd in this great Fight, where your Majesty's Household and my Cuirassiers have broke no less than three times the Enemies Left, I must confess that I do not comprehend the business of War. The only Consolation that remains, Sir, in my Misfortunes is, that I have done nothing contrary to your Orders, which M. Villeroi cannot but acknowledge, as well as all the Officers of the Army, who have seen me expose my self as much as the meanest Soldier; and if the peril of my Life would have purchas'd a Victory, it would not assuredly have been my fault that your Majesty's Arms had not been Triumphant. But the Evil is befall us, and what remains is to seek the means of remedying it. I expect in all this Chaos of Confusion your Majesty's Orders, and am,

S I R,

Near *Lovain*, the  
23d of *May*, 1706.

Your Majesty's, &amp;c.

*The Elector of Bavaria.*The Duke of *Marlborough's* Letter to the States.

High and Mighty Lords,  
V E L T Marshal *Anverquerque* having dispatch'd M. *Wassenaar* to your High and Mightinesses to give you an account of the Victory that the good God has given us on *Sunday* last over the Enemy, I was willing to defer my Congratulation till this day, that I might at the same time give your High and Mightinesses an account of the Success of our Design in passing over the *Dyle*, having resolved to attempt it this Morning at break of Day; but the Enemy has spar'd us that trouble, having left us the Country open by the retreat which they have made towards *Brussels*; so that 'tis with a double Joy that I do my self the Honour to write you this from *Lovain*, where I have a long time wish'd to be for the good of the Common Cause. X 2 All

1706.

All the Generals, Officers and Soldiers, have certainly done all that was humanely possible in this glorious Day, and I cannot sufficiently praise their Conduct and their Bravery. I do not in the least doubt but Messieurs the Deputies and Monsieur *Anverquerque* have rendred that Justice to your own Troops, and that your High and Mightinesses will embrace all occasions of acknowledging and recompensing the Merits of so many brave People. I have chosen Colonel *Chancelor* to carry this agreeable News to you, as well for his Merit in the last Campaign, as for the Services he has now done: He will inform your High and Mightinesses of every thing that has pass'd, and the present situation of the Enemy, whom we have resolv'd to pursue. I shall always esteem it the greatest Pleasure to testify to your High Mightinesses my inviolable application to your Interest, I am,

*With all possible Respect, &c.*

*Louvain* the 25th  
of May, 1706.

The P. and D. of Marlborough.

Monsieur *Anverquerque*'s Letter to Messieurs the States.

*High and Mighty Lords,*

It has pleas'd Almighty God to grant your Arms and those of your Allies a compleat and perfect Victory over our Enemies the 23d of this Month, being *Whitsunday*; for which Goodness we ought to praise and thank him. I do my self the Honour most humbly to congratulate your High Mightinesses upon this great Victory by my Adjutant *M. de Wafsonaar*, who has been order'd to make you a detail of the Particulars that have pass'd in this Action. We use all possible diligence vigorously to prosecute this happy Success against the Enemy in favour of the Common Cause. This Morning we pass'd the *Dyle* and are encamp'd near *Ter-Bank*, *Louvain* being behind us. The Enemies are retir'd upon our approach, and are at present on the other side the Canal near *Frimbergen*. I must testify to your High and Mightinesses the Bravery and Fidelity of

the Troops, as well as your General and Subaltern Officers as they have deserv'd; and they have truly had a great share in this Victory. The *English* and Auxiliary Troops have not acquir'd less Honour by their Bravery. The Duke of *Marlborough*, according to his glorious Custom, has done all that could be expected from a great Captain. The Enemies have sustain'd a great loss; I cannot yet inform your High Mightinesses of the number of their dead, which is very considerable: They have sav'd only two or three pieces of Cannon, the rest, which are about 50 pieces, is fall'n into our Hands. We have also taken 60 Standards or Colours, and made Prisoners 200 Officers, Generals and Subalterns; besides those who have been taken by the *English*. I have sent back for 5 Months upon their Parole those who were with me, because many of them were much wounded, and others were stript and rifled, according to the Fortune of War. The Soldiers that we have taken are about 3000, whom I have sent by the way of *Liege* to *Maeſtricht*, to be dispers'd into other Places. We have likewise lost several Officers of Distinction, amongst others Prince *Lewis* of *Hesse*, Colonel of Infantry. I will make an exact List of the dead and wounded, as well Officers as Soldiers that we have had in this Action, and shall do my self the Honour to send it to your High and Mightinesses. I pray the Lord God, and I trust He will, bless the Arms of the States and their Allies to a happy End. I believe we ought at this time to reinforce the Army as much as possible we can, to maintain and push forward our Advantages; and to this End 'tis necessary to draw more Troops out of the Garrisons, since they are at present out of danger, and that the Enemy will do all that is in their power to reinforce theirs. *M. Marſin* will join them in a day or two with a large Detachment.

*I remain with Respect, &c.*

From the Army near  
Louvain the 25th  
of May, 1706.

Auverquerque.

The

1706.

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the King of  
Denmark.

S I R,

BEING advis'd that the Letter which I did my self  
the Honour to address your Majesty with the  
next day after our Victory, had the fortune of fall-  
ing into the Enemies Hands. I take the liberty of  
writing this second to congratulate you with all Hu-  
mility and Respect upon the happy success which it  
has pleas'd God to give the Arms of the High Allies  
upon their Enemies. I shall not repeat the Parti-  
culars of it, well knowing that your Majesty has  
been fully inform'd otherways; we have already ga-  
ther'd all the Fruits from it that we could have de-  
sir'd in so short a time: The Capital *Brussels*, and  
all the other Towns of *Brabant*, *Antwerp* excepted,  
have submitted to his Catholick Majesty King *Charles*  
*III.* After having a little refresh'd our Troops we  
advanc'd towards the Enemy before they had time  
to be inform'd thereof; we repos'd intirely upon the  
Blessing of God, and the Bravery of our Troops,  
particularly those of your Majesty, who have so  
much distinguish'd themselves, and have acquir'd so  
much glory in the Battle, that I cannot excuse my  
self from writing this second Letter to do Justice to  
Monsieur the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who has shewn  
convincing proofs of his Knowledge and Bravery, as  
well as all the other Generals, Officers and Soldiers  
under his Command, who merit all the Praises that  
I am able to give them; and if I may venture to say  
so, all that your Majesty is able to express to so brave  
a People. I have not been wanting to do them that  
Justice to the Queen and his Royal Highness. And  
I hope your Majesty will not be displeas'd at the li-  
berty I give my self in recommending them to your  
favour, and begging you to be assur'd of the invio-  
lable Sincerity and most humble Respect, with which  
I am, Sir,

From the Camp at  
*Grimbergen* the  
29th of May, 1706.

Your Majesty's most Humble  
And most Obedient Servant,

The P. and D. of Marlbor-

If the Battle of *Hochstet* caus'd the loss of *Bavaria*, and banish'd the Elector out of his own Dominions; the Government of the *Low Countries*, and the expectation which he had of the Sovereignities of the *Dutchy of Brabant* and the County of *Flanders*, with which the two Kings had flatter'd him, still remain'd to comfort him in his Adversity. His Electoral Highness, to establish himself in a Country where he was to reign as Sovereign, earnestly desir'd to come to a decisive Battle, perswaded that the Arms of the two Crowns would have better Success in *Flanders* than they had had in *Bavaria*; and altho' the declining State of Affairs in *Spain* had induc'd the King at last to consent to it, yet his Majesty could not forbear reproaching the Elector in a Letter that he writ to him soon after the Battle of *Ramilly*, upon the pressing instances which the Elector had made at the Court of *France* to obtain that permission. These Reproaches cast the Elector into Despair, and were the more sensible to him as they depriv'd him of all hopes of better Fortune hereafter, and as he had no resource left after the loss of the *Low Countries*. If he had hearkned in *Bavaria* to the advice of his faithful Ministers before the Battle of *Hochstet* he would have acted prudently, he would have disarm'd, made his Peace with the Emperor and his Allies, and not have seen himself reduc'd to such evil Extremities: But when Ambition fills a Prince's Mind, Humane Reason is no longer capable of perswading him; he runs precipitately into ruin. This fatal Ambition has been the cause of all the Elector's Disgraces, and his Brother the Elector of *Cologne* has also felt the dismal influences of it, he being younger was more apt to suffer himself to be seduc'd. All that remains of these two Princes' ancient Glory, is the regret of having lost their Dominions, and the despair of ever recovering them again.

After the loss of the Battle of *Ramilly*, there was nothing to be seen in the *Low Countries* but a general Revolution, and the Allies were blest with a continual course of Conquests, *Louvain*, *Malines*, *Lier*, *Brussels*, *Antwerp*, *Ghent* and *Bruges* submitted to the Conquerors, and acknowledg'd King *Charles* for their lawful Sovereign. The Towns of *Ostend*, *Menin*,  
 X 4 *Dendermond*

1706. *Desaerina* and *Asti* were beſieg'd and taken without ſtandance of reſiſtance. The People of the *Lombards*, ſatig'd with the Domination of *France*, receiv'd the Confederate Generals every where as their Deliverers, who had redeem'd them from Slavery, and recover'd their ancient Liberty. The Confederate Army purſu'd the Elector, who was oblig'd to leave the Field, and with the remains of the *French* Army ſeek a Sanctuary under the Cannon of the fortiſſed Towns. *Diſford*, which had been baniſh'd from the King's Armies in the late Wars, began now to reign amongſt the Generals. The Elector complain'd of *Villeroi*, and *Villeroi* of the Elector. His Maſteſty, to appeaſe theſe intestine Jars, recall'd *Villeroi*, and gave the command of his Army to the Duke of *Vendome*.

I have ſaid that the Court of *France* form'd four Projects at the opening of the Campaign, which would have put an end to the War, to the advantage of the two Crowns if they had ſucceeded. We have ſeen how three of them have miſcarried; the only one remaining is the Siege of *Turin*. The Court was very intent upon this, and eſteem'd it as her only reſource. The happy Succeſs which the firſt Project had by the Battle of *Calcinato*, made the King conceive great hopes of the Reduction of *Turin*, and there was a great deal of reaſon to believe that that Deſign would have ſucceeded. But the City of *Turin*, which was beſieg'd in the beginning of *June*, defended it ſelf with ſo much Vigour and Reſolution, that it held out till the Arrival of the Succours in *September*. The Duke of *Savoy*, who by a prudent Foreſight had taken the Field, that he might be the better able to give his Orders every where, did moſt happily baſtle the Enemy, who very unpolitically hunted his Royal Highneſs, inſtead of carrying on the Siege with Vigour. On the other hand, 'tis matter of Wonder, to conſider with what Rapidity Prince *Eugene* remov'd all the Obſtacles that had been laid in his way along the *Adige*; how, afterwards, he croſs'd a Country, full of deep Ditches and Canals; paſſed the *Po*; penetrated into the *Ferrareze*, and the *Modeneze*; took *Final*, *Carpi*, *Reggio*, and other Places; and how

how having march'd to the Enemy towards *Gustalla*, and observ'd that they repass'd the *Pa*, he turn'd so *a propos* into the *Parmesan* and *Placentine*, which Countries he travers'd without Opposition, and even went through the important Passage of *Stradella*, where he might easily have been stop't: Insomuch, that after 34 Marches he join'd the Duke of *Savoy*, and made way for the everifamous Batle of *Turin*, which was fought on the 7th of *September*, and which, in two hours time, defeated, at once, both the Ambitious Projects and Forces of the Enemy. The main Army, which had join'd the Besiegers, and expected the Imperialists, behind deep Intrenchments, was forc'd, and put to the Rout; its broken Remains oblig'd to fly towards *Pignerol* in the greatest Confusion; their Camp abandon'd with all their great Stores and Baggage; the Duke of *Orleans* wounded; *Mareschal Marfin* kill'd, and *Turin* reliev'd.

The Baron *de Hohendorf*, who was sent by the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, to notify this Signal \* Bat-  
of Victory to the States-General, and the Queen of *Great-Britain*, presented to their High Mightinesses the following Relation which deserves to be trans-  
mitted to Posterity: *le of Tu- rin, Sep. 7. N. S.*

*High and Mighty Lords,*

I AM very happy in being chosen by his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy*, and by Monseigneur Prince *Eugene*, to bring your Mightinesses the News of the glorious Victory which they gain'd over the Enemy the 7th of this Month in the Neighbourhood of *Turin*. His Royal Highness, and Prince *Eugene*, hope you will take no less part in their good Fortune, than you have in their Glory, by the great Succours you so generously sent to the Prince, who of all the World most deserves them. At length, after having pass'd Four great Rivers, which serv'd for Ditches to the Four Intrenchments the Enemy had made to hinder our Passage, at length, after 34 Marches, our Army arriv'd near *Turin* the 30th of *August*.

The First of *September* his Royal Highness join'd

us

1706. us with his Horse, and the whole Army passed the  
 For the 4th, between *Moncalier* and *Cariignan*, to-  
 wards *Quiera*. 4 Battallions, and 10000 Militia,  
 were left under the Command of Count *Santena*,  
 with a certain Quantity of Powder to be thrown  
 into *Turin*, in case the Enemy should quit the Hill  
 to oppose our Army with all their Forces.

The 5th we encamp'd near the *Doria*, and his Roy-  
 al Highness having intelligence that a Convoy of  
 1300 Mules was coming from *Susa*, he caus'd the  
 Marquess de *Visconti* to pass the Ford of *Elpignan*,  
 with the Horse of the first Line of the Left Wing,  
 and the Marquess de *Langallerie* to pass below *Pia-  
 nesse*, with the Horse of the Second Line of the same  
 Wing, and so the Convoy being then come into  
 the Neighbourhood of that Town, was inclin'd be-  
 tween them: Mr. de *Bonel* who commanded the  
 Guard of the Convoy was beaten, and the Regi-  
 ment of *Chaillon* entirely defeated. That Day 800  
 loaded Mules were taken, and at Night the Castle  
 of *Pianessa*, into which the rest of the Convoy, and  
 of the Regiment of *Chaillon* had escap'd, surren-  
 dered with his Garrison, consisting of 80 Foot, at  
 Discretion.

The 6th we pass'd the *Doria*, and encamp'd with  
 the Right on the Bank of that River before *Pianessa*,  
 and the Left on the *Stura* before the *Venerie*. At  
 Night all were order'd to be ready to fight the next  
 Day, which Order was receiv'd with inexpressible  
 Joy.

The 7th at Day-break we march'd to the Enemy,  
 who were intrench'd up to the Teeth, having the  
*Stura* on their Right, the *Doria* on their Left, and  
 the Convent of the *Capuchins de Notre Dame de la  
 Campagne* in the Center, besides *Luscingo*, and sev-  
 eral other fortified Castles flank'd their Intrench-  
 ment. Our Foot march'd in Eight Columns, Four  
 in the First Line, and as many in the Second, all  
 the Grenadiers of each Column in the Van, the Ar-  
 tillery was divided in Proportion among the Foot;  
 our Right mov'd along the Side of the *Doria*, and  
 our Left along the *Stura*; behind the Foot march'd  
 the Horse, the First Line in Six Columns, the Se-  
 cond in Brigades. Never

Never was any thing seen so bold and terrible as this March. The Enemy fir'd continually with 40 Pieces of Cannon, but all the Fire serv'd only the more to inflame our valiant Soldiers: Within half Cannon Shot we form'd into Battalia, all the Generals took their Posts; our Cannon began to fire, and all the Instruments of War to sound. We left a proper Distance betwixt the Brigades of our Foot, by which we might march our Horse in case of need, which Precaution was of great use to us afterwards. Upon notice that all was in order, the whole Army moved in a Moment. Our Infantry march'd up with their Muskets on their Shoulders to the Foot of the Intrenchment. Then the great Fire of the Muskets began, and as by the unequal situation of the Ground, our Left Wing sustain'd alone for some time the Efforts of the Enemy, that stopt them a little, but without making them to give Ground. That very moment, Prince Eugene came up, drew his Sword, and putting himself at the Head of the Battallions on the Left broke into the Enemy's Intrenchments in an Instant.

His Royal Highness did the like in the Center, and our Right near *Luseingo*. In Conclusion we triumph'd on all sides, and at the same time our Horse advancing through the Intervals left for them, 'twas no longer a Fight, but a Pursuit of Runaways, and our Horse counted it a scandal to their Valour to cut down Men that fled with so great Precipitation, and this sav'd many of the Enemy's Lives.

By Noon the Victory was wholly ours, and the City entirely deliver'd, for the Enemy abandon'd the Attack, and all their Camp retir'd with the Remains of their Army to the other side of the Po. The rest of the Day was spent in taking several Castles and Redoubts possess'd by the Enemy, who all yielded themselves Prisoners of War, and his Royal Highness enter'd triumphantly his Capital that Evening.

High and Mighty Lords, this is a true Relation of what our Army has done in *Piedmont*. I forbear to speak of the Actions of the Two great Princes that commanded it, being at a Loss for Words to describe

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describe them. I have the Honour to be sent hither rather to publish the Eternal Acknowledgment they promise you, than the great Valour by which they have render'd themselves worthy of your Friendship. I do it by these Lines; professing myself at the same time with most profound Respect.

High and Mighty Lords,

Your most Humble,

and most Obedient Servant,

De Hohendorff.

I may say without vanity, that I had no small share in the good Success of the Battle, in which I acted as General of Horse with the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and the Marquess de Visconti, and pursued the broken Remains of the Enemy as far as Pignerol, and took abundance of Prisoners. The French to buoy up the sinking Spirits of the People, and, in some measure, to palliate their irreparable Loss at Turin, highly magnified a Victory gain'd by their General Medavi, near Castiglione, over the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel. This Action unhappily fell out Two  
 1 Sept. 9. Days after the Battle of Turin; and had it been put off Two or Three Days longer, till Monsieur Medavi, and the Prince had notice of the other, 'tis very probable, the French General would not have hazard'd an Engagement.

The Prince of Hesse, who commanded a Body of Auxiliary Troops, had taken Goito; and Castiglione was like to undergo the same fate, when Count Medavi having drain'd the Garrisons of several Places fell upon him unawares, and forc'd him to an Engagement, in the beginning of which his Highness behaving himself with his usual Valour, had all the Advantage, took some Cannon from the Enemy, and turn'd them against themselves; but the French who were much superiour in Number, renewing the Charge, and being like to surround him, his Highness was oblig'd to retire to Valeggio, which he did in good Order, and without any Interruption from the Enemy; so that this Action had no other ill Consequence, than to retard the taking of Castiglione, which soon after fell of course.

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The *French*, whose Interest it was to palliate their Defeat before *Turin*, remained sometime about *Fenestrelles* and *Briancon*, as if they design'd to return with an Army into *Piedmont*; and to give an Air of Truth to their *Rodomontado*, made some Preparations, and some unsuccessful Attempts, to pass through the Valley of *Aosta*. But the two Victorious Princes, disregarding the Reports spread by the *French*, which vanished into Smoak, were only wisely intent upon improving their late Advantage, and present Opportunity. All the Places possess'd by the Enemy in *Piedmont*, *Montferrat*, *Milaneze*, and the Neighbouring Provinces, were reduc'd one after another, some voluntarily, as *Milan*, others by main Force, and among the rest *Pavia*, *Mortara*, *Alexandria*, *Picciagnone*, *Tortona*, whose Garrison was put to the Sword, and *Casale*, the Garrison whereof were made Prisoners of War, as well as those of many others, so that excepting *Cremona*, *Valenza*, and the Castle of *Milan*, which were block'd up, *France* lost at the Close of the Campaign a vast Country, the Invading and keeping whereof had cost her prodigious Sums of Money, by a Revolution no less wonderful and surprizing, than that which happen'd at the beginning of the Campaign in the *Netherlands*.

'Twas very happy for *Germany*, that the slowness and weakness of its Efforts on the *Rhine*, was made up by the Victories of the Allies every where else: But 'twas a great misfortune, that the Peace of *Hungary*, which was thought so near a Conclusion, met with the same Obstacles that stood formerly in its way, and which baffled the Care and Application both of the Ordinary and Extraordinary Ministers from *England* and *Holland*, sent to *Vienna* to mediate that long wish'd for Accommodation.

On the contrary, a Treaty of Peace on a sudden, put an end to the long, obstinate, and bloody War that distracted *Poland*, which may well be reckon'd as one of the most wonderful Events of the Year, 1706. The Crowning of King *Stanislaus*, which had been attended with a Treaty between that Prince and the King of *Sweden*, had oblig'd King *Augustus* to return from *Saxony* to *Poland*, to make a stricter Alliance

1706. since with the *Czar*; but the Army which was to follow him from *Saxony*, was scarce arriv'd near *Fronsfurt* in *February*, but it was defeated by the *Swedish* General *Renschild*. 'Twas then the general Opinion, that the King of *Sweden* would not give him time to repair that Loss by the *Muscovite* Succours, and that he would pursue them closely, in order to make him abandon *Poland* and *Lithuania*, but it since appear'd, that he had another Design in view, the better to compass his Ends. The Campaign there was spent on both Sides in Marches and Countermarches, and in exacting Contributions, after which the King of *Sweden* having reinforc'd his Army, and left two Bodies in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, march'd suddenly into *Saxony* in *September*, and thereby hinder'd King *Augustus* from receiving any Supplies from his own Dominions. The Affairs of the latter were in this desperate Condition, when another Event, no less unexpected, seem'd to buoy up the sinking Spirits and Hopes of his Party, by the Victory he gain'd on the 29th of *October* near *Kalish*, over General *Mardefelt*, and the Palatine of *Kiom*. But the News of this Battle was scarce made Publick, when the Scene was shifted again by a Peace still more surprizing than all the rest, since it was sign'd the 24th of *September*, above a Month before the Battle; and which is more strange, this Victory occasion'd no Alteration in the Articles of the Treaty, whereby King *Augustus* gave up the Kingdom of *Poland*; Renounc'd all Right and Claim to the same, and the Great Dukedom of *Lithuania*; and solemnly acknowledg'd and declar'd *Stanislaus* for true rightful King of *Poland*, and Great Duke of *Lithuania*. On the 17th of *December*, the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus* had an Interview at *Alt-Ranstadt*, where in remembrance of the Peace, a Yearly Fair was granted called *Urede Mart*, or Fair of Peace.

This Year died the Bishop of *Munster*, a Prince ever inclin'd to entertain a good Intelligence with his Neighbours. His Death having made way for Two Competitors to supply that vacant See, the Bishop and Prince of *Paderborn* was Elected by the Majority of Votes, but the contrary Party declar'd in favour of

of the Prince of *Lorrain*, Bishop of *Osnabrug*, which contested Election was at last decided in favour of the former. 1706.

This Year was also fatal to *Don Pedro* King of *Portugal*, who (according to the Character given of him by the Earl of *Galloway*, a nice Observer and Judge of Men) ' was the most zealous and hearty Person of all his Court, in the Interest of the Confederacy : So that the Death of that Prince, at that critical juncture, would have been, to the Allies, had not his Son and Successor *Don Juan* solemnly declar'd, and caus'd to be notified to them, that he would Religiously perform all the Engagements enter'd into by his Father, and push on the War against *France* with redoubled Vigour. 'Tis also remarkable, That the Treaty of *Union* between *England* and *Scotland*, was sign'd on the 22d of *July*, O. S. but that weighty Affair was not brought to a final Conclusion till the next Year ; tho' not without great difficulty and opposition on the Part of the *Scotts*, who foresaw that by this *Union* they would lose their old beloved *Independency*, and become, as it were, a Province of *England* : But the irresistible Power of Gold, artfully bestow'd by way of *Equivalent*, surmounted all Obstacles.

When the way seem'd easie and level towards the Conquest of all *Spain*, by the shameful Retreat of King *Philip* from before *Barcelona*, King *Charles's* Diligence in improving that Advantage was not so great, as the Occasion favourable. The Marquis *das Minas*, and the Earl of *Calway*, who begun their March from *Portugal* in the Month of *April*, had, in a short time, reduced *Alcantara*, *Placentia*, and other Places ; nor was the Duke of *Berwick* (since made a *Marschal of France*) able to hinder them from going directly to *Madrid*, where the Court was in terrible Alarms. But a Disappointment suspended their Fears : The *Portuguese* Army had no manner of Advice from *Barcelona*, and several false Reports made the Generals uneasy and uncertain as to the Fate of that Place, and of King *Charles* ; so that before their Doubts were clear'd, it was thought adviseable to march back, in order to secure *Ciudad Rodrigo*. During this Interval, the Duke of *Anjou* arriv'd Post at *Madrid* (*June 8.* N. S.)

1706. N. S.) and all Things seem'd to heighten the Hopes of his Party, when, to his great Surprize, he was inform'd, that the Portuguese Army was on its March again towards the Capital City of Spain, thro' *Salamanca* and *Avila*. Hereupon, he abandons *Madrid*, with all his Court, not without leaving behind him some Tokens, which shew'd he did not expect ever to return thither. Upon the Approach of the Portuguese Army, *Madrid* acknowledges *Charles III.* (June 24. N. S.) and other Cities and Towns follow their Example: Whilst the Confederate Fleet reduces first *Cartagena*, and afterwards *Alicant*. All Spain had infallibly submitted to King *Charles*, if precious Time had been well husbanded. Several Expresses and Parties were sent to his Majesty to press him to repair to his Capital City, with as many Troops as he could possibly bring along with him, in order to prevent the Enemy, who advanc'd thro' *Navarre*. Much time pass'd, and no Answer came, which occasion'd various and groundless Reports (even of the King's Death) which cool'd the early Affection of some, disheartn'd others, and gave an Opportunity to the opposite Party to rise. At last, certain Advice was brought, that King *Charles* (having rejected the Earl of *Peterborough's* Advice of marching directly to *Madrid*, by the way of *Valencia*) had resolv'd upon a Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Montserrat*, and accepted the Invitation of the City of *Saragossa*, where he had been proclaim'd; and that he was marching to join the Confederate Army, where indeed he arriv'd the 8th of *August*, N. S. But the Enemy, who had leisure to recover their Fears, and gather Strength, were, by this time advanced near the Gates of *Madrid*, being superior to the Confederates by 25 Squadrons, & 13 Battallions. So that after both Armies had a long time been in view, and endeavour'd, in vain, to gain Ground upon each other, the Confederates, having consumed all their Provisions, resolv'd at last to march towards the Frontiers of *Valencia*, disposing their Quarters in such manner, as that they might cover that Kingdom, *Aragon* and *Catalonia*; maintain free Entrance into *Castile*; and secure their Communication with the Sea-Port Towns, which, thro' the indefatigable Care and con-

consummate Prudence of the Earl of *Galway*, was executed, notwithstanding the Enemies Opposition. 'Tis true, the Duke of *Berwick*, by the Superiority of his Forces, did afterwards retake *Carthage*; but this Loss was abundantly counter-vail'd by the Reduction of the Islands of *Majorca* and *Ivica*, with which Sir *John Leake* ended his glorious Sea Campaign.

The Confederate Troops in *Italy* having, after their successful Campaign, been disposed into Winter Quarters, I was invited to the Court of *Vienna*, where the Hero of our Age, Prince *Eugene*, having forestalled my Arrival, by a favourable Recommendation to the Emperor, I was receiv'd with great Distinction by his Imperial Majesty, who honour'd me with several private Conferences, and seem'd to be extreamly well pleas'd, both with the ingenuous Account I gave him, of the Posture of Affairs in *Italy*, and with my private Thoughts about the War, between the High Allies and *France*. The remarkable kindness the Emperor shew'd me, soon stirred up the Jealousy of Count *Z — —*, who bearing with impatience the growing Fortune of a Foreigner, took one day a frivolous occasion to speak in my presence, with the utmost contempt of the *French*. He dwelt so long upon that Subject, that all the Company took notice, that his Discourse was levell'd at me: whereupon I thought my self oblig'd to vindicate my Nation with some warmth. One of the Count's Friends, who happen'd to be with me, prevented a Quarrel that seem'd inevitable, by shifting the Conversation to indifferent Matters, and inviting us to a splendid Supper, after which we parted in all appearance, very good Friends. But Count *Z — —* meditating Revenge, found means to get what pass'd between us mis-represented to the Imperial Court, where, on a sudden, I found my self look'd upon with indifference; and my Solicitations with the Ministers, both for the Payment of my Arrears, and the Post I thought my Services deserved, altogether ineffectual. I had too much spirit to bear this usage, and therefore took the Resolution to leave the Imperial Court, which I did without much Ceremony, acquainting the Emperor with my  
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design one Morning, as he was coming from Mass. His Imperial Majesty, somewhat surpriz'd at my Compliment, ask'd me the reason why I would leave his Service? But as I was going to acquaint him with my Grievances, I was interrupted by a Favourite (one of Count Z — r's Friends) who diverted the Discourse, and afterwards prevented, in some measure, the Effect of that Monarch's generous dispositions towards me. However, before I left *Vienna*, besides the full payment of my Arrears, the Emperor presented me with his Picture set with rich Diamonds, and with it, (what I value most) a gracious Assurance, that he would never forget my good Service. I was afterwards entertained with the Overture of commanding the *Muscovite* Army in Chief, under the *Czar*, but this being thwarted by his *Czarish* Majesty's Favourite, and the fair Hopes of Preferment given me by some *German* Princes being likewise disappointed, I, at last, retired to the Court of *Berlin*, where under the generous Protection of his *Prussian* Majesty, I enjoy the solid Pleasures of a peaceful Retirement; and where I behold with a Tranquility to which Men of my Profession are generally Strangers, the important Tragedy which is now acting on the great Stage of *Europe*, and the *Unravelling* whereof, keeps still all Men's Expectations at a Bay.

To resume the Thread of these Memoirs, the Glorious and Compleat Victory of *Turin*, was about Six Months after, attended with the Reduction of all the *Spanish* Dominions in *Lombardy*, between the *Alps* and the *Apennine*. For the *French* finding it impossible, either to relieve or supply the Garrisons of the Castle of *Milan*, *Final*, *Sesola*, *Mirandola*, *Mantua*, and other Places, propos'd, at last the following Conditions, on which they offer'd to withdraw the Troops of the Two Crowns into *France*.

**A**LL the Places possess'd by the Troops of the Two Crowns shall be yielded up, and evacuated in the Form, and at the Day that shall be agreed on, and on the following Conditions. *Granted.*

All the Troops of the Two Crowns, of what Nation

tion soever they may be, as well Cavalry, Dragoons, Infantry and Hussars, and generally all the Officers, and others, who make up the Major Establishment of the Places, shall go out with Arms, Baggage, Equipages, Colours flying, and all Military Honours, in the Condition they are in at present, and shall march either in a Body, or small Troops and Companies; which shall be left to our Choice, in the manner following, for the Conveniency of the Troops, and shall be conducted in all safety, by the shortest Way to *Suza*; nor shall any Wrong, Stop, or Hindrance, be offer'd either to them or their Equipages, on any Pretence whatsoever. *Granted.*

## III.

The Garrison of *Sestola* shall repair to *Mirandola*, for which purpose the Enemy shall give a Pass for their being conducted in Safety thither. *The Men belonging to that Garrison are already Prisoners of War.*

## IV.

The Garrison of *Final* shall set out the 26th Instant with Ten Pieces of Cannon, in order to repair to *Suza*, by such a Rout as shall be regulated, as well as the necessary Measures for its Safety and Subsistence, as far as the said Town of *Suza*. *Four Pieces of Cannon only are allowed, viz. Two 12 Pounders, and two Six Pounders, which in case they cannot be carried by Land, may be transported by Sea: Moreover, a General Officer, and a Commissary of War, shall be allowed to that Garrison, both for the security of their March, and their Subsistence.*

## V.

The Garrison of the Castle of *Milan* shall set out the 20th Instant, in order to repair to *Valenza*, where they shall join the Garrison of that Place, and then march together directly to *Suza*, with the same Circumstances. *This Garrison shall march directly to Novarra, and shall join the Main Body at Suza. That of Valenza shall be joined in their March by that of Cremona. A General Suspension of Arms shall be forthwith proclaim'd, after which the Castle shall give Hostages.*

## VI.

The Garrison of *Mirandola* shall set out the 29th Instant, and repair to *Gualtieri*, in order to join that

1707. of *Mantua*, on the Day they shall pass thro' that Place. *Granted.*

## VII.

The Garrison of *Mantua* shall set out the First of *April*, in order, the next day, to pass the *Po* at *Borgo-forte*, on the Bridge we shall cause to be made there, and repair against the Bridge of *Cremona*, by the Way that shall be agreed on. *Granted.*

## VIII.

The Garrison of *Sabionetta* shall set out the First of *April*, and go and join that of *Cremona*, by such Routes and Quarters as shall be appointed for them. *Granted.*

## IX.

The Garrison of *Cremona* shall pass the *Po* on the Bridge of *Cremona*. *Granted.*

## X.

All the said Garrisons of *Mirandola*, *Mantua*, *Sabionetta* and *Cremona*, shall assemble at the end of the Bridge of *Cremona*, in order to march together through the *Piacentine*, the *Milanese*, and the Dominions of his Royal Highness of *Savoy*, directly to *Saxa*, according to the Rout and Quarters as shall be agreed on. *Granted.*

## XI.

Each Garrison shall be allowed to carry with them 10 Pieces of Cannon, with the same Equipages as the Artillery and Ammunition for each Piece to fire 100 times. Each Soldier and Trooper shall be permitted to carry with him Powder and Shot to fire 20 times. Ten Pieces of Cannon only are allowed for all the Garrisons, without including those for Final; and the particular Places from whence the same shall be taken, shall be expressly agreed on. viz. Four 12, Two 6, and Four 3 Pounders, with Ammunition for each Piece to fire 50 times.

## XII.

In case the Governors of Places have any thing to add to the present Articles, either for their own Concerns, or those of their Garrisons, such Things shall be granted to them, as cannot be known, till the Orders for the Evacuation of the said Places are sent to them. If the Governors of the Places have any Thing to add to the said Articles, the same shall be adjusted with them, according to Justice.

## XIII. No

XIII.

No Deserter, of what Nation soever, shall be taken, or delivered up. *Deserters shall be allowed to return to their Regiments; but in case they are unwilling, they shall not be taken by force.*

XIV.

No Officer, Soldier, or other, of what Character soever they may be, on the Enemy's side, shall be allowed to come amongst the Troops of the two Crowns, to entice away the Soldiers, Troopers, or Dragoons. *Granted.*

XV.

The necessary Waggon's shall be furnish'd gratis, both from the Places, out of which the Garrisons shall march, and every where else on their March, as far as *Susa*, viz. as many as shall be necessary for the carrying away the Effects belonging to the Kings, the Sick, and the Equipages, both of the Troops, and General Officers. *Three Waggon's shall be allowed gratis for each Battallion, and even for each Regiment of Horse, but the Enemy shall be obliged to pay for the other Waggon's, except the General Officers, to whom they shall also be given gratis.*

XVI.

It shall be permitted to leave on our Part two Commissaries of War, either in the Places of the *Milaneze* or *Piedmont*, which shall be left to our Choice, as well to take Care of the Sick, (that shall remain in the Places, to whom Routs shall be given to repair to *France*, when they shall be cured, on the same Foot as the said Routs shall be given to the Troops) as to clear all the Debts and Affairs that shall happen not to have been settled, either in *Lombardy* or *Piedmont*; in consideration whereof, the Commissaries, Treasurers, Clerks, and others detained in *Pavia*, *Alexandria*, *Cazal* and *Turin*, for the settling of the Debts, and assisting the Prisoners, shall be permitted to return into *France*, after they shall have delivered up to the said two Commissaries, who shall be nam'd by the Prince of *Vaudemont*, the Account of the Affairs committed to their Charge. *Granted, provided the Ammunition and Military Utensils and Furniture, be not comprehended in the Effects belonging to the Two Crowns, well-*

1797. knowing, that Warlike Ammunition is not meant in this Article. But this is put by way of Precaution.

## XVII.

The Enemy, and the Countries in which we have made War, shall not claim any Thing on account of Waggon, furnish'd in extraordinary Marches, and loss of Oxen in the Convoys, or for furnishing <sup>to</sup> pay, Straw and Wood, during the March of the Troops, while we were in Possession of the said Countries. *Granted.*

## XVIII.

That it shall be permitted to evacuate by Boats, the Hospitals of the Places on the *Po*, without waiting for the departure of the Troops, for which purpose Passes shall be granted; as well for the Boats, Sick, Wounded and Utensils, as for the Commissaries and Surgeons, who are to take care of them, as far as *Chivas*, where Waggon shall be furnish'd for the whole, to be conducted to *Susa*: And if necessity should compel them to leave some Sick, or Effects, in some Place of the *Milanese*, or *Piedmont*, they shall be received there, provided, the (*French*) King be at the Charge of their Subsistence. *Granted.*

## XIX.

Besides the Pieces of Ordnance, which each Garrison may carry away with them, it shall be permitted to carry away the Field Artillery, consisting of 30 Pieces of Cannon of all sizes, and five Mortars, with as much Ammunition as we shall be willing to take along with the said Artillery. *As for the Cannon of the Places, the same has been answered by the 11th Article: And as for the Field Artillery, 24 Pieces are allow'd, but no Mortars, and Ammunition for each Piece to fire 50 times.*

## XX.

The necessary Waggon for the Service of the said Artillery, shall be furnish'd *gratis* by the Enemy, if there be occasion. Besides the necessary Oxen for the Pieces of Cannon, 30 Waggon shall be given *gratis* for the Artillery, and if more are wanting, the Enemy shall pay for the same.

## XXI.

All the Officers of Artillery, and all Men belong-  
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ing to the Train, shall repair to *Susa* with the said Artillery, on the same Terms as the Troops. *Granted.*

## XXII.

During the space of 3 Months, to commence from the Day on which the Treaty shall be sign'd, we shall be allowed to withdraw all Provisions and Ammunition, that are in the Places, and other Effects belonging to the two Crowns, in order to convoy the same to *Genoa*, *Venice*, or *Susa*, either by Water or by Land, with the necessary Passes for their Security, paying for the Carriages, which shall be freely furnished; and it shall be permitted to agree for the same on the spot, either with his Imperial Majesty's Commissaries, or private Men, or *Jews*, who shall be willing to buy the same. *As for the Provisions belonging to the Enemy, it shall be permitted to sell the same; it being impossible to furnish Carriages to transport them. The Enemy shall likewise be allowed to leave Commissaries during 3 Months for the Sale, and the clearing of the said Effects; as for the Ammunition, it shall remain in the Places, except what shall be given for the Field and Garrison Artillery, and distributed according to what has been granted to the Troops.*

## XXIII.

The Intendant, Commissaries of War, Generals of the Provisions, Directors of the Hospital and of the Posts, Ingeniers, Treasurers, and generally all Persons in Employment, of which the Intendant shall deliver a List, shall march with the Troops, or separately, being furnish'd with Passports for their repairing safe to *Susa*. *Granted.*

## XXIV.

The Galleots shall be sent to *Venice*, to be made Use of as shall be thought fit, the Officers and Companies of the said Galleots shall follow the Troops, on the same Condition specified above for the Troops and Officers. *Granted.*

## XXV.

All the Prisoners of War taken in *Italy*, of what Quality or Nation soever they be, shall be restor'd to us *bona fide*, and shall follow the Troops, we obliging our selves to deliver within one Month's time all those that are in *France*, and not at Hand to be deliver'd up

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on the Spot. *The French Prisoners that are mark'd in a List separately sign'd, and actually in the Hands of the Imperialists, shall be delivered up, as well as some others that are detain'd in Roveredo, l'Abadia, and by the Body under General Wetzel : As for the Spaniards, Italians, Swiss, and Grisons, they shall be delivered up likewise, from a Colonel downwards, except those that are minded to take on in the Service of the Emperor, or of his Royal Highness, or to quit all Military Service. In Exchange, we shall be content for the Imperialists that are Prisoners, with what is offer'd in the Article, that is to say from a Colonel downwards.*

## XXVI.

All the Swiss that have been taken Prisoners, and that are in the State of *Milan*, or in their own Country, shall be declared free. Such of them as have not lifted themselves, are understood to be comprehended in the Article about Prisoners.

## XXVII.

Bread, Forage, and Lodging shall be furnish'd gratis, by the Enemy to all the abovesaid Troops, Horse and Foot, and to the Retinues of the General Officers of the Troops, Provisions, and Artillery, in all Places through which they pass, of which an Account shall be given by the Intendant, and the Troops shall rest one Day in four, and march but Ten Italian Miles a Day. Bread and Oats, or other Corn for the Horses, cannot be given gratis, when the Enemy pretend to make their own profit of the Magazines that are in the Places ; so they must either pay for what shall be furnish'd 'em, or deliver out a certain Quantity of Meal, and Corn, which shall be proportion'd to them again daily. As far as the Frontiers of Piedmont, they shall have Hay gratis, and where there is none the Enemy must be content with Straw, or such other kind of Forage as can be had : Their Marching 10 Italian Miles a Day, and resting every fourth Day, is likewise granted.

## XXVIII.

The Prince and Princess of *Vaudemont*, and all the General Officers of what Nation soever, shall go with the Troops, or separately, which shall be left to their Choice, directly to *Susa* by the shortest Road, with all their Coaches, Chaises, Equipages, Retinues, and

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Domestick Servants; when they have resolv'd how to go, they shall be furnish'd with Passports and Guards necessary for their Security, and with Lodging and Forrage. *Granted to the Prince and Princess of Vaudemont, and the General Officers, Retinues and Equipages; and their Word is relied on that they will demand no more than they shall necessarily want.*

## XXIX.

No Officer, Soldier, Servant or other Person, shall be detain'd for Debt; because Commissaries are offer'd to be left to clear the said Debts with all Equity. *Granted.*

## XXX.

As for the Debts the Prince of *Vaudemont* may owe in *Milan* and the *Milaneze*, he will satisfy them, by giving substantial Security for Payment within Six Months, provided all his Moveables and Effects that have been seiz'd be restor'd, and that his Servants be permitted to pack up the said Moveables and Effects, and send them with Passports to *Genoa* or *Susa*, by Carriage, which shall be furnish'd on their paying for it. *M. Carlos Semple* and *le George*, two of his Servants, or any other, whom he shall send to make Inquiry after the Moveables and Goods belonging to him, and which may have been taken by private Persons in the Disorder wherein he left his House, shall be allow'd to use their best Diligence in such a Search; and in that Case Prince *Eugene* is desired to assist them with his Authority and Orders. *No Difficulty is made of causing the Prince of Vaudemont's Moveables to be restor'd to him, provided his Creditors have security and satisfaction given them; and Prince Eugene consents to interpose his Authority, that the whole may be adjusted with Equity and Justice.*

## XXXI.

The same thing shall be granted with regard to all Moveables and Effects belonging to the Domestick Servants of the Prince of *Vaudemont*, that shall be found in *Milan* or the *Milaneze*; and they shall be allow'd three Months to remove them to *Genoa* or *Susa*. To which end the said Domesticks shall send their Servants, or go thither themselves, to make Search for the said Moveables and Goods, (Household Furni-

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1707. *ture or Cloaths) and they shall be furnish'd with Passports for three Months, as well for going to Milan, as for sending their Effects to Genoa or Suzza. Granted, except what was taken or wasted at first.*

## XXXII.

All General Officers, and others of what Nation soever, who left any Baggage in the Towns of Piedmont or the Milanese, shall be allow'd likewise to send them to Genoa or Suzza, with Passports, which shall be granted them on Demand. *Granted, except what was confiscated or destroy'd at first.*

## XXXIII.

Care shall be taken for the Subsistence and Security of the Troops, and all the Equipage, in their March to Suzza. *Care shall be taken for their Security in their March; as for their Subsistence, it has been answer'd in other preceasing Articles.*

## XXXIV.

The Prince of Vaudemont demands of the State of Milan the Payment of 50000 Crowns, arising to him from his Stipends as Governor General of the Milanese, and due to him in the Month of September, 1706, before the Enemy entered that State. *'Tis agreed, that the Accounts of the Prince of Vaudemont's Ordinary and Extraordinary Salaries, as Governour of the Milanese, shall be stated to the Time express'd in the Article, and in Case any Arrears be due to him, Prince Eugene will procure him satisfaction from the State of Milan.*

## XXXV.

The said State of Milan shall pay to the Undertakers who have furnish'd Artillery, Bread, Ammunition, Forrage, Corn, and other Things, what is due to them, in the Manner stipulated in the Assignments given them by the Magistrates, and the State of Milan. *This is a Matter in which the State of Milan, and the Magistracy are concern'd, and shall be decided according to Justice, the Enemy have no longer any thing to do with it.*

## XXXVI.

A Passport shall be given to M. D. Jean de Herrera, great Chancellor, who is at Bologna, to join the Troops with his Equipage, and march with them, or separately,

as he shall think fit, directly to *Susa* or *Genoa*, by the shortest Way; he shall likewise be allow'd to withdraw the Effects he may have left in *Milan* or the *Milanese*. *Granted, as to his Effects, on the same Foot with what is said to the preceding Points.*

## XXXVII.

Upon the delivering up the *Modeneze*, it shall be permitted us, to oblige the *Consulte* of *Modena* to give an Account, of what is due to the King, to the Day of the Evacuation of the Citadel of *Modena*, from the Farms of *Modena*, and from the Notes made payable at the End of *September* last by the said *Consulte*, for the Sum of 22000 Livres, that is to say, 12000 to *M. de Choemerault*, 6000 to the *Chevalier de Luxembourg*, and 4000 to *M. d'Esclainvillers*. The Citadel of *Modena* having capitulated, this Article is referr'd to that Capitulation.

## XXXVIII.

All Officers, Soldiers, and other Persons of whatever Nation, Character or Profession, as also their Families, shall be entirely at Liberty to follow the Troops, or to continue in *Italy* in their Employments or Trades, with Freedom to carry with them their Effects, or to sell them within three Months; nor shall any who have serv'd the two Crowns in any Quality whatever, or adher'd to them, be molested in any Manner, on any Pretence. *Granted, except that those who will stay after the Expiration of three Months, shall have Need of a new Permission.*

## XXXIX.

The Generals and other Officers, and other Persons, that are in the Service of the two Crowns, shall enjoy the Estates they have in the *Milancze*, the *Montferrat*, the *Modeneze*, and the *Mantuan*, or shall have Liberty for a whole Year to dispose of them by Sale or otherwise. *Granted, that they shall have Six Months time to take what course they think best.*

## XL.

That part of the *Montferrat* which belongs to the Duke of *Mantua* shall be restor'd to him, or as an Equivalent for it *Cremona* and the *Cremoncze*, with the same Neutrality in which he shall be left possess'd of *Mantua* and his Dominions, in which are included the

## The Marquess De L——ry's

the Territories of *Gualfatta* and *Bozolo*; and he shall be at Liberty to put what neutral Garrisons he pleases into *Mantua* and *Cremona*, when the Troops of the two Crowns shall march out of them. *Refus'd in every Particular*; 'tis promis'd however, that the Privileges of the Inhabitants of *Mantua*, and the Jews living in it shall be maintain'd.

## XLI.

*Mirandola*, and its Territories, shall likewise be restor'd to the Duke of *Mirandola*. *Answer'd by the preceding Article.*

## XLII.

All the Boats and Materials necessary for making Bridges over the Rivers which the Troops are to pass in their March to *Susa*, shall be made and furnish'd at the Charge of the Enemy, who shall give Orders to that purpose, as also for the sending down of Boats forthwith for finishing the Bridge of *Cremona*. *Granted.*

## XLIII.

Hostages shall be given on both sides, till the present Treaty be intirely executed, of which his Royal Highness of *Savoy*, and Prince *Eugene*, shall remain Guarantees in its full Extent. *Agreed for two Officers to be Hostages, viz. a Major-General with a Colonel or Brigadier: And to the said Guaranty. Done at Milan the 13th of March, 1707.*

Sign'd,

St. Pater.

La Javellerie.

The Count de Schlich.

Count Daun.

' *Victor Ameduse II.* by the Grace of God, Duke of *Savoy*, Prince of *Piedmont*, King of *Cyprus*, &c.  
' Supreme General, Commander of his Imperial Majesty's Armies in *Italy*.

Having perus'd the Articles above, sign'd by Prince *Eugene*, we have approv'd, ratified, and confirm'd, the same, according to their Form and Tenour, promising on the Faith and Word of a Prince, to observe and cause them to be observ'd inviolably, without infringing them, or permitting them to be infring'd, directly or indirectly. In Witness whereof we have sign'd these Presents with our Hand, and caus'd our Privy-Seal to be put to them. *Done at Turin, March 16. 1707.*

Sign'd *Vic. or Ameduse*, and counter-sign'd, *de St. Thomas*.

After

1707.

After so constant a series of prodigious Successes, with which the Confederate Arms were attended, it was the general Opinion (which did not want probable Reasons to support it self) That the King of France would never be able to retrieve so many and such great Misfortunes; and that he would soon be obliged to wave his Pretensions to Spain, to obtain Peace; which his Subjects begg'd of him, not in soft Murmurs, but in solemn Speeches, and Orations from the Pulpit. But it seems, these were fond Notions; and the Year 1707. proved almost the entire Reverse of the preceding: France having made greater and speedier Efforts to recover her Losses, than the Allies did to improve their Victories. This appear'd most sensibly in Spain, where the fatal missing of the fairest Opportunity that could offer, to secure the whole Kingdom after King Philip's Retreat from Madrid, was the primary Cause of the Advantages he gain'd the next Campaign; and King Charles's Weakning the Army in Valencia, occasion'd the Loss of the Battle of *Almanza*. The Confederate Generals, according to their positive Orders, (which the Necessity and Posture of Affairs on that side seem'd abundantly to justify) and confiding, besides, in the Courage and Ardour of their Soldiers, resolv'd to attack the D. of Berwick, before he had receiv'd the French Reinforcements, headed by the Duke of Orleans. Nor would they have had Reason to repent that Counsel, had all the Troops that engaged, fought with equal Valour and Intrepidity; and answer'd the good Dispositions made by that Brave and Experienc'd General, the Earl of Galway, who on this Occasion shew'd the same Bravery and Conduct, by which he formerly gain'd the famous and decisive Battle of *Aghrim* in Ireland. According to Expectation, the English and Dutch attack'd the Enemy with unparallel'd Resolution and Undauntedness; broke entirely their Center, and pursued their Advantage as far as the Town of *Almanza*; but the Portuguese Troops not sustaining their Efforts, and some of their Horse running away at the very sight of a superior Body that advanc'd towards them, the broken Troops of the Enemy rally'd, and the English and Dutch being over-power'd, the Earl of Galway, who was all the

Battle  
of *Almanza*.  
9 April  
25. N.S.

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the while among the thickest of the Enemy, and receiv'd a great Cut over his Right Eye, was, at last, forc'd by those about him, to provide for his own safety, with a small Party of *English* Dragoons. Major General *Shrimpton*, Brigadier *Mackartney*, Col. *Briston*, Col. *Hill*, and some other Officers, assembled the broken Remains of the *English* Regiments, and join'd some of the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Infantry, who had been rallied by Count *Dhona* and Don *Emmanuel*; & this Body to the number of about 4000 Men retreated about Two Leagues to the Hills of *Caudete*; but the Men being tired with the Fatigue of the Day, and wanting both Provisions and Ammunition, were unable either to march farther, or to make any defence, so that the next morning, being surrounded by Two Lines of Foot, the Commanding Officers agreed to the same Capitulation as was granted to the *French* at *Bleinheim*, and surrendered themselves Prisoners to Count *de Hasfelt*.

Upon advice of this great Success, the King of *France* wrote the following Letter to the Archbishop of *Paris*.

C O U S I N,

N O N E could rejoice more than I did, at the News I receiv'd of the Victory, which my Troops in conjunction with those of my Grand-Son, the King of *Spain*, under the Command of my Cousin, the Marschal Duke of *Bernwick*, gain'd the 25th of the last Month, in the Plain of *Almanza* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. The Enemy, who were busy about the Siege of *Villena*, being inform'd that he made a Motion to relieve that Place, marched up to him, with resolution to fight him, before the arrival of the fresh Troops he expected. Their first Attack was very vigorous, and the Fight obstinate on both sides; but the *French* and *Spanish* Troops equally animated with a noble Emulation, charg'd the Enemy with so much Valour and Intrepidity, that in less than two hours, they intirely defeated them, and kill'd a great many of them on the Spot. They took from them 120 Colours or Standards, and all their Cannon, which they abandon'd, with part of their Equipage. Besides a great number of Prisoners

1707.

Prisoners taken in the Heat of the Action, 13 entire Battalions that retired into the Mountains after the Fight, were oblig'd to surrender at Discretion, with all their Officers, and all the Generals that commanded them; so that 'tis reckon'd that above 8000 Men are Prisoners of War, besides 800 Officers, among whom are Six Mareschals de Camp, 12 Brigadiers, and 20 Colonels. The rest of their Army was entirely dispers'd, and put to flight, and the Victorious Army marches to *Valencia*. It is to be hoped, that so compleat a Victory will be attended with more happy Consequences; and that the Provinces of *Spain* that were forced to side with the Enemy, seeing themselves in a capacity to return to their Duty, will soon imitate the Zeal and Fidelity of those, who have had the happiness not to abandon their Lawful Sovereign. In the mean time, I ought not to defer returning Thanks to God for so great an Event, and therefore I write you this Letter, to acquaint you, that my Intention is, that you cause *Te Deum* to be Sung in the Metropolitan Church of my good City of *Paris*, on the day, and at the hour which the great Master, or the Master of the Ceremonies will signify to you from Me. Whereupon I pray God to have you, Cousin, in his Holy keeping. Written at *Marli* the 10th of May, 1707. Sign'd

LOUIS,

Phelypeaux.

The Loss of the Battle of *Almanza* was soon after attended with the surrender of *Xativa* and *Alcira*, and the Reduction of the Kingdoms of *Aragon* and *Valencia*, except the important City of *Alicant*, the Town of *Denia*, and some other Places that remain'd in the Hands of King *Charles*, together with *Gibraltar*, and the whole Principality of *Catalonia*. The Preservation of the latter was, in great Measure, owing to the Vigilance and Activity of the Earl of *Galway*, who retreating thither with the shatter'd Remains of his Army, put the Places most expos'd, in a Posture of Defence, and what with Recruits, what with some new Levies, made a shift to appear again in the Field. But his Army being much inferior to the Enemy's, he was not in a Condition to raise

1707. raise the Siege of *Lerida*, which after a memorable Resistance, surrendred to the Duke of *Orleans* (Nov. 12. N. S.) towards the end of the *Autumn* Campaign.

The *French* Court was so flush'd with these Successes, that his Most Christian Majesty wrote the following remarkable Letter to the Cardinal de *Noailles*, Archbishop of *Paris*.

C O U S I N,

ALL that has pass'd in *Spain* since the Victory of *Almanza*, evidently proves that the Consequences of it are as advantageous as I hoped they would be. The Reduction of the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Aragon*, was the First Fruits of it. and the taking of *Lerida* not only compleatly secures the peaceful Enjoyment of them, but seems even to promise the like Success in *Catalonia*. 'Tis to my Nephew the Duke of *Orleans*, so many happy Events are owing. After having caus'd two Kingdoms to return to the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign, he has undertaken the Siege of that important Place: The strength of its Ramparts, a numerous Garrison, the over-flowing of Rivers, the approach of the Enemy, who came to relieve the Town, were as many Obstacles which he has surmounted by his Intrepidity and Vigilance, and by the Valour of the *French* and *Spanish* Troops under his Command. These Advantages, together with those gain'd this very Campaign on the Frontiers of *Portugal*, where the Enemy have lost three considerable Places, and all the Troops that defended them, oblige me to render to God the Thanks due to him for so many Benefits. Wherefore I write to you this Letter to acquaint you, that 'tis my intention that you cause *Te Deum* to be sung in the Metropolitan Church of my good City of *Paris*, on the Day, and at the Hour, which the Great Master, or the Master of Ceremonies shall tell you from me. I order him, at the same time to invite to that Ceremony, my Courts, and those that are used to assist in it. Whereupon, I pray God to keep you, Cousin, under his Holy and Worthy Protection. Given at *Versailles*, the 22d of *November*, 1707. Sign'd, L O U I S.

and lower,

*Phelypeaux*  
The

The Duke of Orleans having put his Victorious Troops into Winter Quarters, set out for Madrid, to stand God-Father to the Prince of the Asturias, King Philip's Son, as Proxy for the King of France, who, upon the News of his Birth, (*Aug. 25. N. S.*) was so sensibly affected with it, that he wrote the following Letter to the Prelate before mention'd:

C O U S I N,

A MONG the visible Tokens of the Protection, with which it has pleas'd God to favour my Grandson the King of Spain, since he was call'd to the Crown, which belongs to him by the most Lawful and Sacred Rights; none has been more Signal, or more Precious, than the Birth of a Prince of the Asturias. The Spaniards are the more sensible of it, because they have been deprived of such a Blessing for a great many Years; and the Union of the Two Crowns making their Interests common between them, France ought not, at present, to give less Demonstrations of Joy upon that Birth, than Spain shew'd on the Birth of the Duke of Britany. These Two Princes do equally ensure the Stability of the Two Monarchies; they deprive our common Enemies of the False Notion of Re-Union, which they made the most specious Pretence, of the War they have kindled; and give me the Satisfaction to see the Possession of the Two Kingdoms, secured to Two Branches of my House. The just Acknowledgment I owe to God, the only Author of so many Blessings, engages me to write you this Letter, to acquaint you with my Desire, That you cause *Te Deum* to be Sung in the Metropolitan Church of my good City of Paris, on the Day and Hour which the great Master, or Master of the Ceremonies shall tell you from me, and I order him to invite to that Ceremony my Courts, and those who are us'd to assist at it. Whereupon I pray God to keep you, Cousin, under his Holy and Gracious Protection. Given at Versailles the 4th of September, 1707.

Signed  
and lower

LOUIS.

*Lelypeaux.*

The

1709.

The Allies in Spain had fondly expected, that the Portuguese would have favour'd them by a Diversion ; but were miserably disappointed ; for on the contrary, the Spaniards, commanded by the Duke of Ossuna, on one side, took Serpa and Moura ; and at the same time, the Marquis de Bay possess'd himself of the Bridge of Olivenza, and thence, with the assistance of the Duke of Ossuna, to lay siege to that important Place. The Portuguese being seasonably reforc'd, and somewhat spirited by the arrival of four English Battalions, began to move on their Frontiers, whereupon the Marquis de Bay thought fit to lay aside his Enterprize, and retired to Badajoz, after having destroy'd part of the Bridge of Olivenza ; but in the Autumn Campaign, the Portuguese were not able either to hinder the Spaniards from retaking Ciudad Rodrigo, or to recover Moura and Serpa, which they lost in the Spring.

The Empire, whole united and well-managed Strength, might alone suffice to cope with France, did, once more this Year, fall into those Misfortunes, occasion'd by the usual sloth and negligence of some of its Members. The Complaints and Representations that had been made to the Emperor and the Diet at Ratisbon, on the Part of Great-Britain and Holland, whilst Prince Lewis of Baden was yet alive, were as ineffectual when the Markgrave of Bareith took upon him the Command of the Army on the Upper Rhine, which was so inconsiderable in its Numbers, and so ill provided, as not to be able to stand a sudden Irruption of the Enemy. The active Marshal de Villars having, with great Diligence and Secrecy, assembled his Army early, pass'd the Rhine, surpriz'd, and forc'd the Lines of Bubl and Stalhofen, oblig'd the few Germans that faintly oppos'd him, to retire towards Nordlingen : and exacted heavy Contributions from the Duchy of Wurtemberg, the Country of Swabia, as far as Memingen and Ulm, great Part of Franconia, the Palatinate of the Rhine, the Bergstruat, and other Countries : And, indeed, it seem'd but just, That People who had, all along, been so regardless of their own Security, should feel most the dire Effects of an Invasion. The

Contributions of the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* were regulated the 6th of *June*, N. S. at 220000 Livres, payable in three Months; Those of the little Imperial City of *Eßlingen* at 10000 Livres; and 60000 Livres were demanded of the Country of *Baden*.

The *Mareschal de Villars* had certainly greater designs in View; no less than the restoring the Elector of *Bavaria* to his Dominions; but having been obliged to make great Detachments for *Provence*; and, on the other hand, the Army of the Empire having been seasonably reinforced by some *Saxons* in the *British* and *Dutch* Pay; and that brave, wise, and experienced Prince, the Elector of *Hannover* prevail'd with to accept the Command of it, and to augment it with some of his own Forces; the Face of Affairs began to change, on that side, towards the End of the Campaign.

In the *Netherlands*, the Necessity of Securing the Conquests made in the preceding Year, hinder'd the Duke of *Marlborough* from extending them: So that nothing of *Eclat* pass'd on that side: For the Enemy, notwithstanding their Loss at *Ramelies*, having so well recruited their Army, as to be still superior in Numbers, and yet carefully avoiding an Engagement, the Duke of *Marlborough*, to his great Regret, found it impossible to come at them in their strong Camps, tho' he made one or two fair Offers at it.

The Armies were more active in *Italy*, where *France*, as was related before, instead of retrieving her Defeat before *Turin*, lost all the States and Places she possess'd in *Lombardy*, in the Name of King *Philip*. 'Tis true, the *French* might have stood their Ground there some time longer; but they prudently chose rather to preserve their Troops; for which they had occasion in *Spain* and elsewhere, and which it was impossible for them either to subsist or succour, than run the Hazard of losing the same, by an ill timed and unprofitable Resistance.

The Allies had no less reason than the *French*, to be well pleas'd with the Treaty of *Milan*, by which they recover'd several Places, that would have kept them, a long while, in Play; and their Hands, being at Liberty on that side, they had now an Opportunity,

1707.



tunity, which never offer'd before during this War, of making the Enemies Country feel the immediate Calamities of it. Hereupon, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, the States-General, and the Duke of *Savoy*, form'd the Great Project of invading *Provence*, in order either to take or destroy *Thoulon* and *Marseilles*; which fatal Blow to the Maritime Power of *France*, would have been of infinite Advantage to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, by Securing and Enlarging their Trade; and to the whole Confederacy, by depriving the Enemy of Means to carry on their profitable Commerce to the *West-Indies*, which, alone, enables them to prosecute the War. But the Court of *Vienna*, upon Views of private Advantage, laid the Design of reducing the Kingdom of *Naples*, which, as it tended to divide the Confederate Army in *Italy*, in great measure clash'd with the other, and was therefore warmly oppos'd by *Great-Britain* and *Holland*. Their Representations having prov'd ineffectual, the Court of *Vienna* insisting, that the Forces of the Allies were sufficient to carry on both those Enterprizes at once; Count *Taurin*, with a small Body of Imperialists, march'd into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and being seconded by the Affections of the People, whom Cardinal *Crimani* had beforehand prepared to shake off the *French* Yoke, made an entire Conquest of that Country, first by the Surrender of the Capital City; *Capua* and *Pescara*, and at last by the Storming of the important Fortrefs of *Gaeta*. These were still the Fruits of the glorious Victory of *Turin*, by which *France* lost the vast Expences and Labours of Six Campaigns.

The other Expedition, tho' as well concerted, and as little, either foreseen, or provided against by the Enemy, yet met not with equal Success. The Duke of *Savoy*, and Prince *Eugene*, by their Marches and Counter-marches, as if they intended to bend their Victorious Arms either against *Dauphine* or *Savoy*, conceal'd their true Design against *Provence*; and then on a sudden, assembling all their Forces, pass'd the *Coldé Tende*, and, by the Assistance of the Confederate Fleet, under the Command of Admiral *Shorzel*, forc'd the Intrenchments on the *Var*, and went over that River the 11th of *July*, *N. S.* They march'd

towards

towards *Thoulon* with all the Speed, the Want of Magazines, the Heats of that Southern Climate, the Nature of the Ground, and other Difficulties, in an Enemy's Country, would allow; but to their surprise, upon their Arrival at *la Valette* the 26th, they found, that the *French* had recover'd their first Mistake, by their unparallel'd Diligence and Activity; and had not only repair'd the Fortifications of the Place, but posted 40 Battallions either in the Town, or in the Adjacent Hills of difficult Access, and defended, besides, by strong Intrenchments. Upon a View of the Enemy, the Confederate Generals debated, whether they should attack them before they receiv'd other Reinforcements? Prince *Eugene* (some pretend) was for the Affirmative; but all the rest judging, that the Enemy were already too numerous, and too strongly intrench'd to be assaulted, without infinite Hazard, it was thought more adviseable to drive them from some of their advanc'd Posts, and erect Batteries there, in order to make their Camp, that cover'd the Town, too hot for them. Accordingly, the Hill of *St. Catherine* was attack'd, and carried the 30th of *July*; but the Batteries of the Allies did not answer their Expectation; and the Enemy retook that Post the 15th of *August*, notwithstanding the Vigorous Resistance of the Brave Prince of *Saxe-Coburg*, who was kill'd in that hot Engagement. By this time, the Enemy having receiv'd farther Reinforcements of Horse and Foot, the Confederate Generals found themselves oblig'd to content themselves only with Bombarding *Thoulon*, and in order to do it effectually, they attack'd Fort *St. Margaret*, Fort *St. Lewis*, and the Great Tower, that hindred the Fleet's approaching the Harbour. Fort *St. Margaret* surrendered the 15th of *August* at Discretion; the same Night the Allies began to Bombard the Place and Harbour on the Land-side; and Fort *St. Lewis* having been abandon'd the 18th, the Bomb Vessels advanc'd as near as possible the 21st, and bombarded the Town and Shipping till the next Night, with so good Success, that a great many Houses were consumed; several Magazines blown up; and Eight Men of War burnt, or made unfit for Service, viz. *De Triumphant*

1797. of 82 Guns; *Le Sceptre*, 70; *Le Vainqueur*, 86; *Le Neptune*, 76; *Le Invincible*, 70; *Le Serieux*, 60; *Le Laurier*, 60; and *Le Sage*, 54. The Duke of Savoy having caus'd all the Artillery, and the sick and wounded to be ship'd off, left the Camp at *la Valette*, the Night between the 21st and 22d, retreated in very good Order, by the same Way he came, without being in the least insulted by the Enemy; and being return'd into *Piedmont*, concluded the Campaign on that side, with the Recovery of his Important Place of *Susa*, which the *French* had left unprovided; whereby he shut up that Inlet into his Dominions to the *French*, and open'd himself a free Entrance, either into *Dauphine* or *Savoy*. Thus ended the Expedition into *Provence*, which struck a greater Terror throughout all *France*, than had been known, during the whole long Reign of this present Monarch; and which had not fail'd of Success, had the Duke of Savoy been able to reach *Thoulon* before the *French* Reinforcements arriv'd there; or had his Royal Highness had a sufficient Number of Forces to attack the Enemy, immediately upon his Arrival. However, besides the great Damage the *French* sustain'd in their Shipping; the Burning of near one Half of the Houses in *Thoulon*, and the Devastations committed in *Provence*; This Enterprize brought this farther Advantage to the Allies, that it gave a great Diversion to the Enemy's Forces, whereby their Army in *Germany* was weakned; the Duke of *Orleans*'s Progress, after the Battle of *Almanza*, retard'd in *Spain*; the Succouring of *Naples* prevented; and the Conquests of the Allies in *Italy* secur'd. Wherefore the Confederates would have no Reason to think their Expences and Labours in that Expedition ill bestow'd, if Admiral *Shovel*, who had a principal share in it, and acquitted himself so gloriously of his Trust, had not perill'd in his Return from thence, with three of his best Ships: Which fatal Accident determin'd the greater Loss to have been on the side of *Great-Britain*. King *Augustus* delay'd a long while the publick acknowledging of King *Stanislaus*, but being press'd to it by the King of *Sweden*, who domineer'd it in *Saxony*, he thought it, at last, Policy to comply with Necessity,

Necessity, and thereupon wrote to *Stanislaus* the following Letter:

Sir, and Brother,  
 THE reason of our Answering no sooner the Letter, we had the Honour to receive from your Majesty is, because we thought it no longer necessary to enter upon any particular Commerce of Letters; nevertheless, to gratify his Majesty the King of *Sweden*, and that we may not be thought to make any Difficulty to satisfy his Desire, we hereby congratulate you upon your Advancement to the Crown, and we wish withal, that you may find in your Country, Subjects more Faithful than we left there. All the World will do us the Justice to believe, that all our Favours and Labours, have had no other Return than Ingratitude, and that the Generality among the *Poles* only apply'd themselves to the forming of Parties, in order to promote our Ruin. We wish you may not be exposed to the like Inconveniencies, and recommend you to God.  
 Given at *Dresden*, April 8. 1707.

Sir, and Brother,  
 Your Brother and Neighbour,  
 Augustus, King.

Neither the Peace concluded the Year before, between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*, nor the latter's Abdication, which was stipulated by it, put an end to the Troubles of *Poland*, where the *Muscovites* committed great Devastations, exacted heavy Contributions, and hinder'd King *Stanislaus's* Partisans from declaring for that Prince. The great Council summon'd at first at *Lemberg*, and afterwards remov'd to *Lublin*, did not publish the *Inter regnum* till the Month of *July*. And when they seem'd resolv'd to proceed to a new Election, which was strongly solicited by the Czar, it was always deferr'd, and from day to day render'd more difficult by Delays. On the other hand, the King of *Sweden* reap'd all the Fruit he could either wish or expect from that Treaty: For by the long Stay he made in *Saxony*, he very much strengthen'd his Army, rais'd the Attention of many Princes and States, and drew to himself several Noble Deputations and Embassies. Not with-

out exciting some Jealousies, which however, were soon dispell'd. Among the rest, the Duke of *Marlborough* waited on that Monarch, on the Part of the Queen of *Great-Britain*: But could not obtain the private Audience he desired: Which was undoubtedly some Mortification to that great General. Besides these solemn Compliments, and the subsisting his Forces at free-cost, his *Swedish* Majesty's Stay in *Saxony*, still procur'd him the Opportunity of concluding the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, whereby he oblig'd the Emperor to restore the Protestants in *Silesia*, to the free Exercise of their Religion; pursuant to the Treaty of *Westphalia*: A Transaction that added not a little to the King of *Sweden*'s Reputation in all Protestant Countries. After this, his *Swedish* Majesty left the Electorate of *Saxony*, in order to take Winter quarters in *Poland*.

The Troubles in *Hungary* continued this Year, as formerly. The Frontiers on both sides were ravag'd; but tho' the Malecontents declar'd the Throne vacant, yet no body put in for that Crown, and Prince *Ragotski* declined it himself, being contented with the Principality of *Transylvania*, of which he took Possession in great Solemnity; but the Imperialists recover'd that Country.

Among the other remarkable Events of the Year 1707. We may reckon the Decision of the Controversy about the Principality of *Neuschâtel*, in favour of the King of *Prussia*, which was chiefly owing to the powerful Interposition of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and the States-General: The Union of *England* and *Scotland*, and the Meeting of the first Parliament of *Great-Britain*. The Birth of a great many Princes, viz. A new Duke of *Britany* in *France*; a Son to King *Philip*; one to the Prince Royal of *Prussia*, styled Prince of *Orange*; and one to the Electoral Prince of *Hannover*. The decision of the Affair of *Münster*; the Declaration of the Marriage between the King of *Spain*, *Charles III.* and the Princess of *Wolfembüttel*; a Treaty of Marriage between the King of *Portugal* and one of the Emperor's Sisters; and his *Prussian* Majesty's Endeavours for Uniting the *Lutherans* and the Reformed, which had a good Effect in that Prince's Dominions.

The

The Two following *Latin* Epigrams, upon the UNION of *England* and *Scotland*; were communicated to me by a Gentleman who keeps a constant correspondence in *London*.

PLAUDE, Licet, Magno lætis Successibus Anno:  
Sed magis AUGUSTÆ plaude, Britannæ, Tux:  
Scilicet Ipsa jubet Saturnia Regna reduci,  
Cogit & Imperio Fata Subesse suo.  
Hactenus Invisam sibi jam pendere Bonorum  
Congeriem Spectas, quis, nisi Diva dabit?  
Præteriti Centum debent quas Legibus Anni,  
ANNÆ servatus reddet is Annus Opes.  
Annus eò Heroum toto felicior Avo,  
Quò major cunctis ANNA coruscat Avis.  
UNIO nonne Micat Sæcli labor inclytus inde,  
Unde petat Fastos, Æva Britannia novos?

Alterum.  
Junxerat antè ROSAS Henricus REGNA Jacobus;  
Ex Binis UNAM Gemibus, ANNA facit.

The *French* having, in great measure, repair'd the Losses they sustain'd in the Years 1704 and 1706, and being spirited by the Advantages they obtained in 1707, resolv'd to make still greater Efforts to regain their former superiority, and in order to that form'd Two great Projects, viz. the making *Great-Britain* (the main support of the *Grand Alliance*) the Seat of the War, and there recovering what they had lost in the *Low Countries* by the Battle of *Ramillies*. They were so forward and diligent in their Preparations for the Execution of the first, that even before the beginning of the Spring (in the Year 1708.) the *British* Nation was suddenly alarm'd with the Threats of an Invasion, headed by the pretended King of *England*; and the Court of *France* was so fondly secure of Success in this Enterprize, that they gave out in Neutral Countries, That his Most Christian Majesty had, at last, determin'd to execute the Designs he had form'd a long time before, of Furnishing King James III. with Means of reascending the Throne of his Ancestors in *Scotland*: By which Confidence the Pope was so far deluded, as visibly to betray his Partiality to the House of *Bourbon*, by Ordaining Prayers of Forty Hours for the Success of the Expedition, and granting Indulgences

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2. *Intelligence upon the Time &c.* But such right Measures were taken by the Allies on the Continent, and such incessant Diligence us'd by the Admiralty of Great Britain, that the Fleet, commanded by Sir George Rye, having put to Sea earlier and stronger than the French expected : and being *Providentially* favour'd by the Winds, the Pretender's Design was totally defeated : whereby an Opportunity was given and not lost, of making further Provisions for the future Quiet and Safety of her Britannic Majesty's Dominions, and the Security of the Protestant Succession. However, it must be own'd, that few Enterprises were ever better timed ; for at this juncture, the generality of the Scots were disgusted (on account of the late Union, which met with great opposition in the Parliament of that Kingdom) and therefore dispos'd for a Change ; the Forts of that Country very thin, the Fortresses out of repair, and unprovided with Arms and Ammunition ; and the very firmness of the Pretender's landing in Scotland went near to ruin the King of England, the only support of the Exchequer, and indeed, of the Credit of the whole British Nation.

The French had proclaim'd their intended Expedition into Scotland with such Assurance and Expectation of Success, particularly in Scotland, (in order thereby to deter the Protestant Cantons from espousing the Interest of those of New-Castle, whom the Court of France threaten'd with an Invasion, in case they should give the Investiture of that Principality to the King of Prussia) that upon the Miscarriage of that Design, the British Envoy thought fit to write the following Letter to the Evangelick Cantons :

*Magnificen Loris,*

THO' the publishing of false Accounts of the Events of the War, by the Ministers of France and their Adherents, is not a new thing to you ; and tho' you have been taught, by long Experience, how little Credit you ought to give to the incredible Advantages they pretend to ; Nevertheless, since by reason of the Distance of Place, your Lordships cannot so well know the true State of Affairs, and that

that those Gentlemen have lately overshot themselves, by proclaiming, in so audacious a manner, the Infallibility of their undertaking against the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, I am induc'd to believe, that your Lordships were concern'd at the Calamities with which the Queen my Mistress, and all her Subjects were threatned by *France*; or, at least, that you might have some Doubts, that that Enterprize was the Result of mature Consideration and built on reasonable Grounds.

The Falshood with which the Ministers of *France*, contrary to all the Rules of State-Policy, represented that undertaking to the several Courts where-in they reside; the positive Assurances they gave of its Success; the Report which they spread, with so much Confidence, of a general Insurrection in favour of the Pretender; and the Discontents occasion'd by the Union of the Two Kingdoms: all these Suggestions together, might, for a time, raise a Cloud in the Understandings of the most quick-sighted, and disturb you, as well as all others, who have the Welfare of Religion, and the Common Liberty at Heart.

I make no question, Excellent Lords, but, during the time that these false Accounts had any share in your Thoughts, you were sensibly griev'd, that the greatest and most vertuous Princess that ever wore a Crown, should be oblig'd to make Room for a Pretender in *France*, who is educated in the *Papists* Superstition, and the Principles of Arbitrary Power: Your Lordships did, no doubt, look upon the Reform'd Religion as suppress'd in both her Kingdoms, which would fall again under the Power of the Pope, and embrace the Faith of the Church of *Rome*: And lastly, your Lordships might imagine, a Nation tamely beholding the Loss of the Liberty, for which she is so famous, and all her Subjects becoming Slaves to the Will of a Person impos'd upon them by *France*, &c.

Your Penetration would certainly have gone farther, and would soon have made you sensible, That those Misfortunes had not been confin'd within the Queen's Dominions alone, but would have

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‘ have been felt by all the rest of *Europe*. The Forces of her Kingdoms, which Her Majesty employs so gloriously and successfully for the Defence of the Common Liberty, should not only have been taken from the Allies, but even turn’d against them; And the Extirpation of the Reform’d Religion in those Kingdoms, would not only have given it a terrible shock in your own Country, but infallibly occasion’d its Ruin, every where else, in a short Time: That Holy Religion, which the Queen as happily supports by Her Arms, as She adorns it by Her Exemplary Life.

‘ This I take to be, *Magnificent Lords*, the sad Representation you have made to your selves of the Ills *France* meditated for *Europe*, whilst the false Rumours, her Ministers and Partisans spread, prepossessed your Minds, and even kept in suspense your wonted Penetration. But then, I make no doubt, that after you had Time to recover your selves, and to consider calmly the Grounds on which that fine Project was built, you were struck both with Indignation and Astonishment at the Rashness of its Contrivers.

‘ For, in order to render that Enterprize successful, such extraordinary Events must have happen’d, as, according to the natural Course of human Affairs, I do say, were altogether impossible.

‘ The Queen must have had no Fleet at Sea, which never happen’d in Time of War, since the Kingdom had any Shipping, and I will venture to say, will never happen for the future.

‘ But supposing *France* could have landed her Troops, the Queen’s Subjects, notwithstanding the Obligations wherby they are ty’d to Her Majesty, both out of Duty and Inclination, and notwithstanding the express Abjuration every one has made of the Pretender, must of a sudden forsake their Duty and Interest to such a Degree, as to forget a Queen whom they love almost to Adoration, if I may use the Expression; in order to adhere to an unknown Person, brought up in the *Romish* Superstition, and the Principles of Tyranny, and supported by the *French* King and the Pope, the Two greatest Enemies of Free Nations. More-

Moreover, the *British* Nation must immediately either have lost all Sense of Zeal for their Religion, or not have Courage enough left to defend it against Men that would impose on 'em a Worship, which they look upon as Idolatrous.

Lastly, that Nation, which at all times, has shew'd so much Zeal and Resolution for the Defence of their Liberties, which they have had the Happiness to preserve at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure; must, in an instant, have been so base as to submit to the Loss of them, to set up Tyranny and Despotick Power, at a time when the miserable Condition to which the Kingdom of *France* is reduc'd by those Maxims, ought to be a standing Example and Warning to all future Ages.

In short, *Contradictions must have been reconcil'd*, to favour the Success of that Noble Enterprize: That, out of Gayety, an Enemy should be suffer'd to pass, when the Means to prevent it were at hand; That Men should forget the most Sacred Duties, the Allegiance they owe to the best of Queens, the Zeal they ought to have for their Religion, and the Resolution they ought to shew for the Liberties of their Country: Bating these Difficulties, that Enterprize was well conceiv'd, and better digested; And accordingly you have seen, *Magnificent Lords*, that its Success has perfectly answer'd the Expectation of all sensible Men. Their Fleet appear'd on the Coasts of *Great-Britain* without daring to land, or any one Man in the Kingdom stirring in their Favour; whereupon they bravely took the Resolution to return to their Harbour, where they arriv'd the 7th instant; not to mention the Loss of some Ships, which are missing in their Fleet, nor the Distempers that have seiz'd upon their Twelve miserable Battallions, which instead of Conquering the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, are now in the Hospitals of *Dunkirk*, and the Neighbouring Places, and consequently disabled for Service.

This, *Magnificent Lords*, is the upshot of that great Expedition, which was to restore the Affairs of *France*, and retrieve the Reputation of her Arms, and which, instead of that, has only expos'd her to the

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the Laughter of the Publick, and to use the Queen's Expressions in the Prophetick Answer she made to her Parliament on that Occasion, will prove dangerous only to those who undertook it.

We have herein a fair Occasion of admiring the more the Depth of the Politicks of *France*, as we comprehend them the less, and as they exceed the narrow Bounds of our Understandings. They likewise furnish us with Matter for a wise Reflexion on the Conduct of Princes, under the Misfortunes *Ambition* draws upon them. *France* seeing the Decay and Ruin of her Affairs, forms an Enterprize which she would never have ventur'd upon in the Height of her Prosperity, and seeks for *Resources* in *Despair*, which *Reason* and *Prudence* would never have suggested to her.

'Tis now the Part of the Queen and her Allies to pursue their just Resentment against an Enemy, who taking upon himself to give his Neighbours, Kings of his own making, goes about to render them as miserable as his own Subjects; and I hope God will continue so effectually to bless the Justice of their Arms in the Course of this War, that they will not only oblige him to lay aside those vain Thoughts for the future, but will also reduce him to such a Condition, as not to be any more able to trouble the Tranquility of *Europe*, or to disturb his Neighbours in the Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties.

I know, *Magnificent Lords*, that the publick News must, by this time, have inform'd you of the Success of that Expedition; wherefore 'tis not so much with Intent to acquaint you with it, as to congratulate with you upon it, I write to you now. For as I cannot be ignorant of the Zeal you shew upon all Occasions for the Good of our Holy Religion, and Common Liberty, neither have I Reason to doubt but you have truly joyc'd, to see the Mischance of an Attempt which so visibly tended to the Destruction of Both; and which, besides, had it succeeded, would have depriv'd you of the Advantages of the Queen my Sovereign's Friendship, from which you may expect all the Good Offices,

which

which her Benevolence and Power shall offer her the Opportunities to do you.

I pray God to pour down upon you his most precious Blessings, being sincerely,

Magnificent Lords,

Your most affectionate to serve you,

STANIAN.

Notwithstanding this disappointment of the *Scottish* Expedition, the *French* carried on their row'ring Projects in the *Netherlands*, where the late Elector of *Bavaria*, by his former Popularity and profuse Way of Living, having secur'd a considerable Party, the Count de *Bergheyck*, and other Sticklers for the House of *Bourbon*, found Means to work upon the Levity and restless Spirits of the Inhabitants of *Ghent* and *Bruges*; so that the *French* Army, headed by the Princes of the Blood, and the Duke of *Vendosme*, having by puzzling and sudden Marches and Countermarches, got between the Confederate Army, (then inferiour to them) and those Two Cities, these were easily surpriz'd, or rather betray'd into their Hands. However, the Governour of *Ghent*, tho' altogether unprovided for Defence against so powerful an Army, obtain'd an Honourable Capitulation, and, by the Debating of it, amus'd the Enemy three or four Days, which Delay prov'd of most fatal Consequence to them: For the *French* Generals having Notice that Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* was bringing up, with incredible Celerity, a Reinforcement of above Thirty Thousand Imperialists and *Palatines*, from *Germany* into *Brabant*; and that his Highness was already come to *Brussels*, bethought themselves of retiring towards their Lines and strong Towns, before the Conjunction of the Confederate Forces; Hoping, that being reinforced with a good Body of Troops, that were coming up to them, from *Alsace* (tho' not with equal Speed with the *Germans*) under the Command of the Duke of *Berwick*, they might afterwards be able to cope with the Confederates. and, at least, preserve their late easy Conquests. But the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, who, from the first Moment they met, acted with such Unanimity, as if One Soul had inform'd Two Bodies, prevented the Enemy's Design:

And

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Their Title to it appear'd still the clearer, by the Consequences: For whilst the *French* Generals, in sullen Discontent one with another, were gathering the broken Remains of their Army, and intrenching themselves behind the Canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, having first caus'd the Enemies Lines in *French-Flanders* to be levell'd, before the Duke of *Berwick* could secure the same, resolv'd to go upon an Enterprize of *Eclat*, and at last, agreed upon the Siege of *Lille*, rightly judging, they could not attack the Enemy in a more sensible Part, that great City being the Capital of a large and rich District: the Staple of all the Trade between *France* and the *Netherlands*; whose Merchants generally supply'd the Wants of the *French* King's Armies; and whose Customs were a considerable Part of his Revenue. Add to these, That (as the *French* King us'd to say himself) *LILLE* being the first and fairest of all his Conquests, and one of the principal Keys of *France*, on the Fortifications whereof the late famous Engineer, the *Mareschal de Vauban*, had

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had exerted his utmost Skill: The Glory which would redound to the Confederate Arms, from the Reduction of a Place every way so important, was no small Incentive to the undertaking. On the other Hand, the *French* us'd all humane Means for the Preservation of *Lille*; for besides the Presence of the *Mareschal de Boufflers*, Governour of all *French-Flanders*, and of the Lieutenants-General *de Surville*, *Lee*, and other Officers of Distinction, they threw into the Place 21 Battallions of the best Troops of *France*, viz. 2 of *Coastin*; 2 of *Turenne*; 2 of *Foix*; 1 of *Perigord*; 1 of *la Fay*; 1 of *Carraman*; 1 of *Brancart*; 1 of *Veauvieux*; 1 of *Du Till*; 1 of the Kingdom; 1 of *Phiser*, *Swiss*; 1 of *Villars*; 1 made up of Soldiers that escap'd from the late Battle; 2 of the Queen's Fusileers; 1 of *Chateauneuf*; 1 of *Rédéli*; and 1 of *Sablanque*; besides 3 Squadrons of the Queen's Dragoons; 3 of *Bellisle*; 140 Horse, and 7 or 800 Invalids, yet in a Condition to serve. But notwithstanding the Difficulties that must naturally attend the Siege of so strong and so well-provided a Place, besides others occasion'd by the Confederates being cut off from their Magazines in *Antwerp* and *Sas van Ghent*: All which made the Duke of *Vendosme* say, *He did not think so Wise a Captain as Prince Eugene would venture upon so Rash an Enterprize*: Yet nothing was able to detér the Confederate Generals from their Resolutions; so that having brought a great Convoy of Provisions, Ammunition, and other Warlike Stores from *Bussels* to *Menin*, *Lille* was investèd, on the 13th of *August*, N. S. on one side by *Prince Eugene*, and on the other by the *Prince of Orange-Nassau*, Statholder of *Friesland*, and the Trenches open'd the Night between the 22d and 23d of the same Month: The Duke of *Marlborough* lying encamp'd at a convenient Distance, to cover the Siege with the main Army.

The *French* Court, not a little surpriz'd to see that *Lille* was attack'd, sent positive Orders to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Vendosme* to raise the Siege at any Rate; and at the same time, the Duke of *Berwick* was order'd to drain the Garrisons of *Namur*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*, *Valenciennes*, and other Places, and join those



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Troops that were order'd to Guard the Convoy, in the Plain of *Winendale*: But Major General *Webb*, who commanded this small Body, assisted by Count *Nassau Woudenburg* (one of Velt-Mareschal de *Anverquerque's* Sons) and Count *Lottum*, tho' so vastly inferior in Numbers, made such a bold Stand, posted his Men so advantageously, and sustain'd the Enemies repeated Attacks with such Bravery, Firmness and Vigour, that Monsieur *de la Motte* was at last oblig'd to retire with great Loss, which gave the Convoy an Opportunity to arrive that Night (Sept. 28. N. S.) unmolested at *Rousselaer*, and the next day at *Menin*: And as this *Critical Victory*, which prevented the Raising of the Siege of *Lille*, was principally owing to Major General *Webb's* Conduct and Military Abilities, so that eminent Service was deservedly acknowledg'd, both by the unanimous Thanks of the Commons of *Great Britain*; and, in a particular manner, by the King of *Prussia*, who bestow'd on General *Webb* the Noble Order of *Generosity*.

Enraged at Count *de la Motte's* Shameful defeat, the Duke of *Vendosme* march'd in Person to *Oudenburgh*, with the best Part of the *French Army*, and order'd the dykes between *Bruges* and *Newport* to be cut in several Places, in order to lay the Country under Water, and hinder the Communication between *Ostend* and the Duke of *Marlborough's Army*: But notwithstanding the great Inundation, Major General *Cadogan*, favour'd by the *British Troops* at *Leffinghen*, found means to carry thro' the Water considerable Quantities of Ammunition, and other Necessaries. Hereupon, the Duke of *Vendosme* bent his Efforts against the Village of *Leffinghen*, with 7 or 8000 of his Men, after several warm Repulses, and Eight Days open Trenches, carried at last, thro' the Supineness of some Officers, and made the Garrison Prisoners of War. This Success proved of no great Advantage to the *French*, for Two Days before (Oct. 23. N. S.) the Mareschal de *Boufflers*, capitulated for the Town of *Lille*, (tho' by a bold and successful Attempt lately supplied with Powder by the Chevalier de *Luxembourg*) and then retired into the Citadel, the Siege of which was begun the 29th of *October*, N. S. and carried on by Saps, both

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out of a just Tenderness for the Lives of Valiant Men, who had already gone thro' incredible Fatigue, and innumerable Dangers ; And for want of sufficient Stores of Ammunition.

On the other hand, the *French* thought to have taken such infallible Measures for distressing the Allies, both by their Inundations between *Bruges* and *Newport*, and their Intrenchments along the *Scheldt*, That their Publick Ministers in *Rome* and *Venice* did not stick, confidently to give out, that the *Confederate Army* was so coop'd up, that they would soon either be furnish'd or oblig'd to abandon *Lille* : But the Two Great Confederate Generals being indefatigably intent upon their proper Business : The Duke of *Marlborough* in Providing Corn, out of the Country of *Artois*, and the Districts of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde* : And Prince *Eugene* in Husbanding what was sent him by the Duke of *Marlborough* ; both Armies lived in Parsimonious Plenty ; and the Siege of the Citadel was carried on with all the Vigour consistent with the cautious Method of Sapping. Hereupon, the Enemy open'd a new Scene : Their Parties made Incursions into the District of *Boisefranc*, Burning and Ravaging Part of the open Country ; which recall'd to the Remembrance of the *Dutch*, the great Loss they sustain'd Three Months before, by the Irruption of the *French* into *Cadfont* ; And the Elector of *Bavaria* approaching *Brussels*, at the same time, with a Body of about 15000 Men, reminded them of the Loss of *Ghent* and *Bruges* by Intelligence, which it was reasonable to imagine the Elector could not want in a Place where he had formerly resided, and had undoubtedly secured a great Party, at least among the Fair Sex, who, in all Governments, have some Share in the secret Turns of State. Nor were the *Hollanders* without Apprehensions, lest the Elector of *Bavaria's* clandestine Projects might succeed as well in *Antwerp* as in *Brussels*, to the infinite Prejudice of the Affairs of the Allies, in the *Spanish Netherlands*, which in Consequence might have had an irreparably bad Effect, on those of *Italy* and *Spain*.

No sooner had the Elector of *Bavaria* made a shew of attacking *Brussels*, than the Duke of *Marlborough* concerted

concerted Measures with Prince *Eugene* to pass the *Scheld*; And at the same time, dispatched Orders for several *British* and *Dutch* Regiments to be transported from *Ostend* to *Antwerp*; and sent to Monsieur (since the Marquess of) *Paschal*, the Governor of *Brussels*, to assure him, that he would certainly come to his Relief: Upon which Incouragement the States-Deputies resolved to stay in *Brussels*, and by the vigorous Measures they took with the Council of State, and the Governor, were very instrumental in the Preservation of that important Place. Nor were the States General less solicitous for *Antwerp*, whither they dispatch'd some of their own Members, with General *Freisheim*, an Experienc'd Officer, and order'd Troops to hasten thither from *Naerden*, *Heusden*, *Grave*, and other Places. On the 22d of *November*, N. S. The Elector of *Bavaria* invested *Brussels*, and the next Day sent a Summons to General *Paschal*, who answer'd it like a Man of Honour, and made the necessary Dispositions for a resolute Defence, in concert with Major General *Murray*, Baron *Wrangel*, the States Deputies, and the Council of State. On the 26th in the Morning the *French* began to fire from their Batteries against the City and Outworks, and about 9 in the Evening made several Attacks, which continued with great Obstinacy and Slaughter on both sides till Ten a Clock the next Morning, when the *French*, daunted by the stout Resistance, and superior Bravery of the Confederate Troops, who were animated by the Presence and Example of their Generals, retreated, on all sides, in great Confusion. However, it had not been possible for Monsieur *Paschal* to defend himself much longer, with a Garrison scarce 5000 Men strong, in so great and unfortified a Place; the Preservation whereof was therefore principally owing to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, who with incredible Expedition and Secrecy pass'd the *Scheld* the 27th of *November*, in the Morning, without almost any Opposition: The *French*, in a panick Fear and Distraction, and to their eternal Reproach, abandoning those Lines and Intrenchments which they had been casting for Three Months past. Upon Intelligence of their Flight, and of the Confederates Army's passing the

as. the *Swiss*, the Elector of *Bavaria* march'd off from before *Bruges*, with the utmost Precipitation and Confusion, leaving all his Artillery, and wounded Men behind him; And the Deliberance of that important City was soon attended with the Reduction of the Citadel of *Lille*: For *Marschal Passiers* being inform'd, That the Communication between those Two Cities was free and open, thought fit, (to prevent being taken Prisoner of War with his Garrison) to surrender that Fortress the 9th of *December*, N. S. upon honourable Terms, before the Allies had fired one Cannon against it.

The *French* Generals deeply mortify'd to see all their Counsels and Attempts miserably baffled, either thro' Despondence, or fondly believing that the Confederates would have been contented with the important Conquest of *Lille*, separated their Army, and return'd to *Paris*; but the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, having resolv'd to end their Campaign, with the Recovery of *Ghent*, invell'd the Place the 20th of *December*, N. S. and open'd the *Trenches* the 24th. Assoon as the Batteries were ready to fire, Count *de la Motte* demanded an honourable Capitulation, which was granted him, and pursuant to which one Gate of the City and another of the Castle were deliver'd to the Troops of the Allies on the 31st of *December*, N. S. And Two days after Count *de la Motte* march'd out with his Garrison, which consisted of above 30 Battallions, and 19 Squadrons. The Reduction of *Ghent*, the last great Effort of the Confederates in the *Netherlands*, was attended with the Recovery of *Eruges*, *Plassendale* and *Leffinghen*, which the *French* abandon'd.

The Duke of *Savoy*, whose Country lyes most convenient to annoy *France*, gave her this Year, very sensible Blows: For tho' the bad Weather would not suffer him to take the Field till the Month of *July*, yet the lateness of the Campaign was soon made up by the Rapidity of his Royal Highness's Conquests; which the Vigilance and Activity of *Marschal Villars* (whom the *French* used to call their *Fortunate General*) could neither foresee nor prevent. His Royal Highness, the better to cover his Design, had first, (with great

great Labour and Fatigue) bent his March towards *Savoy*, over Mount *Cenis*, as if he had intended to penetrate into *Dauphine* through Fort *des Barreaux*; but having by this Feint drawn the Enemy's Forces on that side, his Royal Highness turn'd short towards *Sexane* and *Oulx*; prevented the *Mareschal de Villars*'s quick March; and took such right Measures, that from the 12th to the 31st of *August*, N. S. he compass'd his true Design, which was to make himself Master of the important Fortrefs of *Exilles*; Fort *la Penusa*, the Valley of *St. Martin* and *Fenestrelles*: By which Conquests he secur'd his own Dominions against *France*, and gain'd a free Entrance into the Enemy's Country; the *French* having built a strong Citadel at *Fenestrelles*, after the blowing up of the Fortifications of *Pignerol*, in order to cover that Frontier. Besides which Advantages it may be observ'd, That the Duke of *Savoy* made a Diversion in favour of King *Charles III.* obliging the *French* to send a great Detachment from *Roussillon* to *Mareschal de Villars*'s Assistance.

This Consideration naturally leads us to the Affairs of *Spain*, where the Two united Crowns had Three Bodies of Troops, one in *Roussillon*, another in *Estramadura*, and the most considerable in *Catalonia*. But tho' King *Charles* did not receive Succours from *Italy*, either in Time, or strong enough, to enable him to cope with the Enemy every where, yet the Consequences were not so bad as had been apprehended. The Prince of *Darmstadt* with a small Body of regular Troops and Militia, hinder'd the Duke of *Noailles* from undertaking any thing of Moment on the side of *Girona*; and that Duke's Army being afterwards weakned by a great Detachment for *Provence*, he was oblig'd to sit still. The small *Portuguese* Army, reinforced by some *British* Battallions, fac'd the Body commanded by the *Marquess de Bay*, who did not think fit to hazard an Engagement; so that the *Portuguese*, without any Disturbance, put *Meura* and *Serpa*, which the Enemy had before abandoned, into a Posture of Defence, and made a successful Irruption into *Andalusia*. The Duke of *Orleans*, who commanded the Enemy's main Body, had the Mortification to see his Operations in *Catalonia* retarded by

I have been well as always & ready for  
the most arduous duties, who will  
be glad to perform his duty at that place, and  
will be glad to see you occasionally & on our  
future expeditions, there being no Officer or  
Lieutenant other than myself, that he has left the  
Value

Value of a Pin; tho' the Treatment the Garrison  
 of *Tortosa* lately met with, would have justify'd us  
 in acting otherwise. I should, according to that  
 Capitulation, have sent the *French* Soldiers and  
 Officers into *France*, had not I receiv'd most posi-  
 tive Orders from the Queen of *Great Britain*, my  
 Mistress, to use Reprisals, the first Opportunity I  
 had, for the Garrison of *Xativa*, which, by the  
 Capitulation should have been restor'd us. As you  
 know better than any body, how that Affair was  
 manag'd, I apply my self to you, to have Justice  
 done us; and, according to the Orders I have re-  
 ceiv'd, I am oblig'd to let you know, That we de-  
 mand the *English* and *Dutch*, who made up the said  
 Garrison, to be sent back to us in *Catalonia*, well  
 arm'd and cloath'd. We know, indeed, That a  
 great many of those poor Wretches have perish'd,  
 by the ill Treatment they met with; that the rest  
 are dispers'd; and, that several were forc'd into the  
*French* Service; but in a like Case, in the late War,  
 when the Garrison of *Dixmude* was to be restor'd,  
 the *French* King order'd the like Number of Men  
 to be sent back. This is what we now demand;  
 and while you wait for an Answer from Court there-  
 upon, the *French* Officers and Soldiers which are  
 here shall remain on board, and be well us'd. If  
 the Answer happen not to comply with our just  
 Demands you ought not to be surpriz'd, if, not  
 having the same Extent of Country, to ruin them  
 by prodigious Marches, we make them work on  
 Fortifications till a Peace, or till they are otherwise  
 agreed to be exchang'd. I am, with a great deal of  
 Esteem, &c. Sign'd,

Mahon, Oct. 1.

1708.

James Stanhope.

The Campaign on the *Rhine* was, as usual, very  
 inconsiderable, Both Parties having remain'd on the  
 Defensive. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince  
*Eugene* having acquainted the Elector of *Hannover*  
 with the Measures they had concert'd at the *Hague*  
 with the States General, for making vigorous Efforts  
 in *Flanders*; his Electoral Highness readily consented  
 to

1708. to part with several Regiments, and, satisfy'd with his former Laurels, chearfully sacrificed to the Common Cause, the Glory he might have reap'd, by Acting Offensively. On the other hand, tho' upon the Elector of *Bavaria's* Arrival in *Alsace*, in order to take upon him the Command of the Enemy's Army, it was thought he had some great Project in View, towards the Restoring of his broken Fortune; yet being oblig'd to make a great Detachment, to reinforce the *French Army* in the *Low-Countries*, as Prince *Eugene* did the Confederates, with the *Imperialists*, *Palatines* and *Hessians*, he was not in a Condition to undertake any Thing, and the Elector of *Hannover*, (tho' with very indifferent Troops, irregularly paid, and ill provided) baffled his Design of penetrating into *Germany*; and hindred him from sending further Reinforcements to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Vendosme*.

Among the Remarkables of the Year, 1708, We may reckon several Advantages gain'd by the *Muscovites* over the *Swedes*, who had beaten the first so often, that they, at last, learnt the Way to beat their Enemies. On the other hand, the Court of *Vienna*, seeing the King of *Sweden*, engaged in a remote doubtful War, were very backward in executing the Treaty of *Alt Ransstadt*, in favour of the Protestants of *Silesia*, notwithstanding the earnest Sollicitations of the *British*, *Prussian*, and *Dutch* Ministers. The Imperial Court insisting, that the Reformed in *Silesia*, were not comprehended in the Treaty before-mention'd, Sir *Philip Medows*, the Queen of *Great Britain's* Envoy Extraordinary presented the following Memorial to the Emperor:

*May it please your Sacred Imperial Majesty.*

IT is now some Months ago, that I had the Honour to acquaint your Imperial Majesty, by Word of Mouth, with the earnest Desire of the Queen of *Great Britain*, my most Gracious Sovereign, to see the Peace and Tranquillity of the Empire, and of your Imperial Majesty's Hereditary Countries, assured, and a strict Friendship settled again between your Imperial Majesty and the King of *Sweden*, by

a punctual Execution of the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, of which her *British* Majesty, at your Desire, had accepted the Guaranty.

I took that Opportunity to recommend to your Imperial Majesty, by the Queen's Order, the Condition of your Subjects of *Silesia* professing the Reformed Religion; who, altho' not particularly nam'd in the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, expected, from your Imperial Majesty's Justice and Equity, to be restored to the Rights and Privileges they had enjoyed for many Years, by Virtue of the Peace of *Westphalia*, at the same time that your Majesty was restoring their Brethren of the *Ausburg* Confession to the Rights they were formerly possessed of, by Virtue of the same Treaty. And seeing the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* had for its Basis and Foundation the Peace of *Westphalia*, and that it was made only to reinforce all the Articles of the *Westphalian* Treaty that had been infringed, it was not to be doubted, but your Imperial Majesty, in the Execution of the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, would have given order to your Commissioners, to re-instal all your Protestant Subjects, without Distinction, in the Possession of all the Rights and Privileges they formerly enjoyed, by Virtue of the Peace of *Westphalia*.

But since such a Progress has been made in executing the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, in favour of the *Lutherans*, that 'tis to be hoped that Matter is very near being finally concluded, to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties concern'd, and seeing nothing has been hitherto done in favour of the Handful of Reformed that are in *Silesia*, I am necessitated to put your Imperial Majesty in Mind of what the Queen of *Great Britain* expects in this Affair, both from your Imperial Majesty's impartial Justice and Equity, and in Consideration of the good Will and Affection she has always born to your most August House, that you will not suffer your Reformed Subjects to mourn and lament their deplorable State, while their Brethren are praising God with joyful Lips, for having disposed your Imperial Majesty to restore to them the free Exercise of their Religion.

That the Reformed are comprehended in the Treaty

1708.

' Treaty of *Osnabrug*, as well as the *Lutherans*, and  
 ' those of the Roman Communion, is so clear by the  
 ' Words of the Treaty, and by the subsequent Exe-  
 ' cution of it, that it does not admit of the least  
 ' Cavil: And therefore Her Majesty of *Great Britain*  
 ' is firmly perswaded, that your Imperial Majesty  
 ' will hearken to the just Request of your Reformed  
 ' Subjects in *Silesia*, in desiring to be restored to the  
 ' free Exercise of their Religion; and that you'll  
 ' prefer the Glory which a Prince acquires by a sin-  
 ' cere and upright Performance of his Treaties, to all  
 ' private Considerations that may be suggested, either  
 ' out of Hatred, or mistaken Policy, to divert your  
 ' Imperial Majesty from doing what is just and equi-  
 ' table in it self.

' Your Imperial Majesty, by a Religious Obser-  
 ' vance of your own Treaties, may expect to procure  
 ' a Blessing from Heaven on your Arms at present,  
 ' and will thereby greatly encourage all your Con-  
 ' federates to prosecute, with the utmost Vigour,  
 ' the *War you are now engaged in, for punishing the*  
 ' *perfidious Violation of the most Sacred Treaties.* That  
 ' the Arms of your Imperial Majesty, and of your  
 ' Allies, may be crowned with an interrupted Series  
 ' of Victories, till the main End of the Confederacy  
 ' is attain'd, *viz.* The Restoration of the House of  
 ' *Austria* to all its antient Dominions and Possessions,  
 ' is the sincere and hearty Wish of

*May it please your Sacred Imperial Majesty,*

*Your most devoted and most humble Servant,*  
*Vienna, the 27th*  
*of October, 1708.*

P. MEDOWS.

But neither the Memorial, nor a long Deduction  
 presented by the *Prussian* Envoy had any Effect.

The Elector *Palatine*, who on many Occasions had  
 so well deserved of the Confederacy, and in particular  
 of the House of *Austria*, was, this Year restor'd to  
 the Possession of the *Upper Palatinate*, with the Title  
 and Rank that had been vested in the House of *Bavaria*  
 by the Treaty of *Munster*: The Elector of *Brunswick*,  
 and

and *Lunenburgh*, (or as he is generally stiled, of *Hannover*) was, at last, acknowledg'd as such by the Electoral College. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had very much contributed towards the Expulsion of the *French* out of *Italy*, received the Reward that was promised him by the late Emperor, *viz.* the Investiture of the *Mantuan Mountferrat*, and other adjacent Counties, except *Vigevano*; And the Ban of the Empire was, on the 30th of *June*, N. S. publish'd against the Duke of *Mantua*, which probably hastened his Death, that happen'd Five Days after: We may also take notice, that the Affair of *Neuchatel*, through the continued Interposition of the Maritime Powers, and the vigorous Resolutions and Councils of the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, was, at last, concluded to the King of *Prussia's* full satisfaction, by the Treaty of *Arau*, wherein the King of *France* acknowledg'd the Inhabitants of *Neuchatel* and *Valengin*, as *Comburghers* of *Bern*, and included in the Treaty of perpetual Peace and Alliance made in 1663, whereby they were intituled to the free Trade, Peace, or other Advantage stipulated in the said Treaty, as Members of the *Helvetic Body*. Thus ended an Affair, which, in the whole Court of it, had made as great Noise as any particular Transaction that had happen'd for many Ages past, to the Honour of the Confederacy, particularly *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, and to the great Mortification of the Court of *France*, who, on this occasion, receiv'd such a Foil and Repulse, as visibly manifested the Declension of her Power, and expos'd her Impotency to Derision and Contempt: Since after all the Threats of invading the Principalities of *Neuchatel*, that haughty Crown was, at last, glad of any Pretence (such as her Affection to the laudable Cantons) to drop a Dispute, wherein the violent Counsels of some inconsiderate Ministers, had preposterously engag'd her. It may also be observ'd in this Place, that the Mediation of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, contributed much to the pacifying the Civil Distractions of the City of *Hamburgh*, occasion'd by the Petulancy and Restless Spirits of some of its Burghers.

The Courts of *Barcelona* and *Lisbon* made Rejoicings

1708. cings for the Marriages of their respective Kings ; the first with the Princess of *Wolfenbuttle* ; the other with the Arch Dutchess *Mary-Anne*, who will not easily forget the generous and noble Entertainment she met with at *Portsmouth*, and on Board the Ship of Sir *George Bing*, who had the Honour to conduct her safe to *Portugal*. The Court of *Prussia* did, in the beginning of the Year, lament the Death of the young Prince of *Orange* ; but was afterwards full of Joy upon the Marriage of their Sovereign with the Princess Dowager of *Mecklenburg Sverin*, a Person of great Accomplishments: Whilst the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Denmark* were in deep Mourning and Affliction upon the Death of the late Prince *George*, her Britannick Majesty's Royal Consort.

The Conquests of *Sardinia* and *Minorca*, besides the Advantages before mention'd, did not a little contribute towards the defeating the King of *France's* Project of uniting the Princes and States of *Italy*, in a League against the Emperor, in order to kindle a new War in that Country, and thereby give a Diversion to the Confederate Arms. On the other hand, the Confederate Fleet was very seasonably at hand, to assist, in case of need, the Imperialists, who after the End of the Campaign in *Piedmont*, entred the Ecclesiastical State, and threatned to march to *Rome*, to support the Marquis *de Prie*, the Imperial Ambassador's Negotiations; and force the partial Pope to acknowledge King *Charles*, and give full satisfaction to the Emperor. Hereupon, the Court of *France*, dispatch'd the Marechal *de Tesse* to *Rome*, with the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary, in order, what by Promises, what by Threats, to endeavour to keep the Holy See steady in King *Philip's* Interest. Not long after, Monsieur *de Tesse* wrote the following Account of his Negotiation to the Marquis *de Torcy*, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

S I R,

Cardinal *Paolucci* came to tell me this Morning, That his Holiness having consider'd of the last Proposals I made to him, on the Part of his Majesty; and of which I had the Honour to speak to you in my last, did not find that the Succours were proportion'd

portion'd to the Greatness of the Danger ; and particularly, that the Danger is urgent, and the Success in no forwardness ; That the *Imperialists* are advanc'd to the very Gates of *Rome*, and the King's Troops still in *France* ; That the *Imperialists* daily possess themselves of considerable Places ; and, that 'tis not certain, the King's Troops will come out of *France* ; that these, and other Reasons, which 'tis no hard matter to comprehend, and a Foresight of the Difficulties that would attend the Conclusion of the League, had so troubled the Holy Father that he could not sleep for't ; That the College of Cardinals were divided in their Opinions ; and, that the Pope seeing no Remedy, could find in his Heart to accommodate Matters with the Emperor, and not depart therefrom, upon Conditions however, which I should approve of ; for which Reason he would take Care every thing should be communicated to me.

I us'd all possible Endeavours to persuade the Cardinal, that the Pope is not so hard put to't, as to make such an Accommodation ; and, that the Danger, of which he made so much Noise, was nothing but a meer Chimera, which would vanish, as soon as the King's Troops should set Foot on Land in *Italy* ; That there was no manner of Difficulty in transporting them by Sea ; That whatever ill affected Persons might pretend, we were sure of the Grand Duke, and even of the *Venetians* themselves ; That only a small matter of Courage was wanting, and a speedy Resolution to embrace the King's Offers, to deprive the Enemies of the Pope of time to fortify themselves in the Posts they were possess'd of.

I repeated over and over, That the King was sitting out a Fleet able to cope with that of *England* ; That the Affairs of his Majesty in *Flanders* took a Turn very much to our Advantage, where the Enemy were penn'd in, and could by no means get out, but by abandoning *Lille*, and all the other Places they are possess'd of, adding a Thousand Reasons which 'tis to no purpose to mention in this Place.

The Cardinal reply'd, That Affairs stood in a tottering Condition ; and, That People never want Pretences

1708. *~* Pretences to regulate themselves according to the Times ; But that Negotiations were on foot for raising a great Storm, which the Ecclesiastical State already felt, and which, without a speedy Remedy, would inevitably ruin it. He told me, That the Marquis *de Prie's* Demands of the Pope, for full Satisfaction, are, I. That he acknowledge the Arch-Duke *Charles* as King of *Spain*, and allow of that Prince's Nomination to the Benefices. II. The Investiture of *Naples* for the same Arch-Duke. III. The Renunciation of the Fiefs of *Naples*, *Ferrara*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, of which the Emperor and Empire might dispose, according to the Laws of the Holy Empire. IV. Winter-Quarters in all the Territories of the Church, depending on the Holy Empire. V. Free Passage and Provisions for the Troops of the Empire, in all the Countries under the Jurisdiction of the Pope. And, VI. A Sum of 500000 Pistoles for making good the Damages. And upon these Conditions the Emperor offers to abandon the Places he is possess'd of, &c.

I declar'd my Surprise, That the Pope should suffer Propositions, so scandalous to the Holy See to be made him ; and made the necessary Protestations upon that Occasion. I wait his Majesty's Orders to regulate my self thereby. Your Excellency will see the rest in the Cardinal *de la Trimouille's* Dispatches.

Rome, Nov. 22. 1708.

T E S S E.

In the mean time, General *Ibaun* having receiv'd the Submission of *Bologna*, block'd up *Ferrara*, extended his Forces into the *Romagna*, and the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and would have march'd directly to *Rome*, had not the Pope craftily amused the Marquis *de Prie* with the Draught of a Treaty, whereby he promised to grant the Emperor's Demands. The Marechal *de Tesse*, who all this while was, or feigned himself indispos'd, endeavour'd to obstruct the Progress of that Negotiation ; and, among other Means he made use of, Dec. 14. N. S. wrote the following Letter to the Old Father.

Moff

*Most Holy Father,*

I Cannot sufficiently express to your Holiness the grateful Sense I shall ever retain in the Bottom of my Heart, of the Favours with which your Holiness has honoured me during my Sickness. I have been daily carefully inform'd of your generous Concern for me, which has infinitely exceeded what I could have expected from the small Access I have had the Honour to have to your Holiness.

Now, *Most Holy Father*, I had Hopes given me of being in a fair way of Recovery, yet not being in a Condition to approach your Holiness's Feet, I beseech you to grant me the most respectful Liberty I beg of you, to write to you about the astonishing Reports that go about, and whose surprising Singularity, lays a Duty upon me to apply my self to Truth it self, in order to be inform'd of the Truth.

*Religion, Honour, Justice, and Fear*, are, if one may use the Expression, *Four Hinges* on which all the Affairs of the whole World turn. The *Three First* are *unmoveable*, and God has intrusted in your Hands the Keys of his Holy Church with no other End than to shut the Door against the *Last*, that it may never prevail against the *other Three*.

Your Holiness is upon the Point to consent to the *Acknowledging King Charles*, and the *Disbanding* of your Forces, with this extraordinary and injurious Circumstance, that no *Frenchman* or *Spaniard* shall remain in your Service.

I think my self oblig'd, both as a *Frenchman*, and as a *French Ambassador*, to beseech your Holiness, not only to make some Reflections on that Singularity, shameful to the (*French*) Nation, and contrary, both for the Time present and to come, to your Service, but also to enable me to satisfy the King about those Articles.

As to that concerning the *Disbanding of your Forces*, I'll not mention it to your Holiness, who, as a Prince and a Sovereign, ought to know and do what's convenient for the Safety of your People. As to the *Acknowledging of King Charles*, if your Holiness thinks it may consist with *Religion, Honour,*

1708.

and Justice; as I do not pretend to meddle with Holy Things, as being but an indifferent Military Divine, I shall not presume to represent to your Holiness, the Consequence of a Peace which opens the dangerous Way of setting up Fear above Religion, Honour, and Justice. It 'tis Force that over-rules these Three Things, we may all, with Safety of Conscience, become Turks or Hereticks, if those Powers happen to be the strongest in Italy.

There remains nothing for me to do, Most Holy Father, but only most humbly to beg one Thing of your Holiness, pursuant to the Orders I have receiv'd from the king my Master: His Majesty has commanded me, That in case your Holiness should make a private Peace with the Emperor, of which the Acknowledging King Charles should be an Article, I should depart Rome before the Conclusion of such a Treaty. I shall wait thereupon the Orders and Advices of your Holiness; and not to trouble you any more with Reflections and Discourses which are neither grateful to write, nor perhaps to read, I conclude with my sincere Wishes for the long and glorious Reign of your Pontificate; and with this melancholy Consideration, That *We do often, as Men, satisfy but little our Enemies, by granting them what we cannot lawfully give them, and thereby lose our Friends, &c.*

Notwithstanding this threatening Letter, the Pope began to reduce his Troops, appointed Signior Piazza to go his Nuncio to Vienna, to adjust some Articles about which 'twas given out, the Marquis de Frie had no Instructions; and to excuse to the French and Spanish Faction, his Steps towards a Reconciliation with the Emperor, he resolv'd to palliate the same, under the pretence of a particular Direction from Heaven: For which Purpose, his Holiness caus'd the Picture of *Jesus Christ*, which, according to the Legend, was begun by *Sr. Luke*, and finish'd by the Angels, to be carried in solemn Procession, at which his Holiness assisted, and accompanied the said Image on Foot. Upon occasion of this Procession, which happen'd on the 2d of January, N. S. the Marschal de Fesse wrote, the same day, the following Letter to the Pope.

Most

*Most Holy Father,*

AT last, Your *Holiness* has been pleas'd to make that Magnificent Procession, so much wish'd for by Good Men; and to open, at the same time, the Treasures of the Holy Church by a JUBILEE, and Holy Rites unexampled in these latter Ages: The *Living Image* of *Jesus Christ* is come down from the Height of his Throne, to humble himself in the Sight of the People! I cannot sufficiently express to your *Holiness* the *Mortification* I felt in not being able to attend You in so *Edifying* an Act of Devotion, the Fruits whereof, according to Your *Expectation*, and our *Hopes*, are to be the *Work* of God, thro' the Inspiration of his Holy Ghost.

Nevertheless, *Most Holy Father*, the *Spirit of Satan*, which, for our Sins, is by Men oftner hearkened unto than that of the Lord, has already began to be heard: And has given out, That the *August Pomp* of that Magnificent Ceremony, so piously ordain'd and perform'd, was leading a Victim to the Altar. Your *Holiness*, whose *Intentions* are always pure, does not guess at it; but your *Enemies* have publish'd, that it was the *King of Spain*; And when by the Tenor of Your *Holiness's* Edict, it is certain and manifest that You have no other Aim than to beseech God to grant You *Grace* to chuse the *Right Side*; They have Authoriz'd their Designs by saying, That if your *Holiness* should give the Arch-Duke the Title of King, of which they make no Doubt, the *Spirit of God* would have suggested to You that *Acknowledgment*, which You have agreed Your self You neither would nor could do, in Honour and Conscience.

Neither do I doubt but your *Holiness* is inform'd, That the numerous *Emissaries* of the *Emperor's* Envoy have given out publicly enough, so as neither the Natives of *France* and *Spain*, nor even any private Person in *Rome*, can be ignorant of their Discourses, That in Consideration of the Title of King for the Arch-Duke, the said Imperial Envoy and Plenipotentiary will very much abate of the 19 Articles that have been made publick. There is a false Speciousness in This: For I may ask, Where are the Guarantees

## The Marquess De L — — ry's

and Sureties that the said 19 Articles, and perhaps, some other new ones, no less injurious, will not be revived as soon as the First shall be granted? Is it very certain, That what shall be agreed upon at Rome shall be ratified by the Emperor? Have not the *Generals* of his Armies *particular Orders*, independent upon him who negotiates with You? Does not Cardinal *Grimani* himself act by his own Authority? I am sorry, *Most Holy Father*, I have those Thoughts, which I cannot forbear writing at this Juncture to Your Holiness: Your Enemies design to perform the Words of the Gospel, *Percutiam Pasterem & Dispergetur Oves*, (*I will smite the Shepherd; and the Sheep shall be dispersed.*) They have begun to pollute the Sanctuary of your Holy Patrimony, by the Exercise of the Heresy in your Dominions. Your Enemies design to throw into a Precipice, the Fatteſt and Beſt of your Sheep, Spain; which would infallibly happen the very next Moment after the Arch Duke should have been acknowledged King in what manner soever. Rome, that Sovereign Mistress of the Universe, where all Nations came and lived in the Holy Liberty, which the same Communion allows, would no longer enjoy her Independence. Votes in Elections would no longer be free: Spain would then be obliged to cry out, *What's now become of the Holy Ark of the Most High? That Mother whom I honour'd so much has abandon'd Me.* Let us fall to Prayers, and make in our Turn pious Processions to obtain that We may retrieve Her: The Son of God has promised us that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against his Church: But that Church is no more at Rome, as long as Rome is in Slavery. The Sovereign Pontiff cannot be there any longer for us: Let us therefore seek Safety of Conscience in Antient Rules, since Rome cannot give them any more, until the King of Kings vouchsafes to restore us the Holy Pontiff Free, and Rome Independent! I beg your Holiness's Pardon for Leading your Thoughts to ungrateful Objects: Tho' I speak of Spain only; And being at too great a Distance from my Master to know his Sentiments about what passes, or may pass here, I shall be sure not to say any

any Thing that may concern the *Eldest Son of the Church*, whose *Respect* and *inviolable Affection* for the *Holy See* I am acquainted with. But I am afraid, that if *Rome* loses her *Sovereignty, Liberty, and Independency*, it will soon cease to be that *Holy City*, whither the *Kings of the most Remote Countries*, brought *Gold, Incense, and Mirrh*.

For my Part, *Most Holy Father*, I expect from the Recovery of my Health, the Possibility of approaching Your Holiness's Feet, to demand of You an *Audience*, which, in all Probability, will be of *Leave*. The Word of *Emperor*, as Your Holiness knows, imports, *Advocate of the Church*; And the First who honour'd themselves with that Title, bore it because they thought nothing more Great, than to be the *Support of the Rights of Religion*. But when the *Advocate or Support of Religion* (to use the same Terms) becomes her *Plague*; When Your *Priests* are *Butcher'd*; When Your *Subjects* become, those of a *Foreign Prince*; When his *Ministers* command and decide in a Place, where Your Holiness commands, by *Natural and Divine Right*, the *Ambassador of Such a Master as Mine*, has nothing else to do, than to *withdraw*, and to wish that *Times* more *favourable*, more *free*, and in which the *Pristine Order* will be restor'd, may make Room for another to return.

As for my self, I shall never forget the Honour I have had to approach Your Holiness. And I most humbly beg of You the Permission of making my Application to You in my Tribulations; and beseech You to be thoroughly persuaded of the Profound Respect wherewith I have the Honour to be;

*Most Holy Father, &c.*

Neither the *Mareschal de Tesse's* Letter, nor this and the *Duke of Uzeda's* Protestations, having been able to deter the *Pope* from his fix'd Resolution to prevent the Storm that threaten'd *Rome*, a Treaty, or, at least, a Project of Accommodation between that Court, and that of *Vienna*, was, at last, concluded and Signed the Night between the 15th and 16th of *January*, 1709. N. S. Tho' the Particulars of that Transaction were kept secret, yet 'twas sufficiently known, that the *Pope* engaged to acknowledge

King Charles, II. whereupon the Marechal de Tesse resolved to leave *Rome*, which he did on the 20th of February, having, some Days before, sent the following Letter to the Pope.

*Most Holy Father,*

AFTER having taken the Liberty to write to Your Holiness and made, tho' to no purpose, the most humble Representations, which the Juncture of Affairs, and the Honour I had of being sent to You in the Quality of Ambassador, seem'd to exact; I thought the only Business I had now at *Rome*, was to demand Your Benediction, which Your Holiness is never willing to refuse. It has been an establish'd Custom among Sovereigns, for many Ages past, to send to one another Ministers, either to have a watchful Eye on their Interests, or to negotiate, or to entertain the Correspondence they desire. These Three Things, *Holy Father*, cannot any more be manag'd with Your Holiness; since *Violence*, as Your Holiness acknowledges it, has made Your Court lose the *Independency*, which it can no longer enjoy. No manner of *Negotiation* can now take Place, since the same Violence will, for the future, turn the Scales quite on one side, the common Father being no longer at Liberty to hold them in that fair Ballance from which Justice flowed. And as for *Correspondence*, the *Son* ever respectful, tho' not *unsensible*, still does, and will always preserve in his Heart those Sentiments which Duty prescribes to him; but when Sentiments only are in Question, there's no need of an Ambassador between the *Father* and the *Son*.

Four Months are now past since I act with Your Holiness the ambiguous Part of a *Minister*, and *No Minister*. The *Perplexity* of *Ceremonies* that settle the Laws of *Publick Audiences*, and do not admit the *Private*, makes of me, as it were a *second Carnival*, wherein Your Holiness forbids *Masks*; and in which, nevertheless those who have put themselves *above the Laws*, take the Liberty to wear them. I am at Your Holiness's Court, neither in a *Mask*, nor *Farfadet*: But I know very well, I have the Honour to demand the Liberty of Retiring, as

‘ a Man altogether useless. I shall give the King, my  
 ‘ Matter, an Account of your Holiness’s Intentions;  
 ‘ that have been violated by Temporal Force, which  
 ‘ has even stilled *That, which the Church used to em-*  
 ‘ *ploy.* In the mean Time, I suppose your Holiness  
 ‘ will charge me to be perswaded, *That the same good*  
 ‘ *Intentions remain entire in the Bottom of your Heart,*  
 ‘ *and will manifest themselves again when under less*  
 ‘ *Constraint.* I have the Honour to be, &c.

The French having in the Year 1708. miscarried in their Designs of making *Great-Britain* the Seat of the War, and of regaining, by Intelligence, what they lost by the Fortune of War in the *Netherlands*; and on the contrary, the Confederate Arms having, that Year, been attended with great Successes in *Flanders, Dauphine, and the Mediterranean,* the Court of *France* began to entertain very serious Thoughts of Peace, and thereupon sent first the President *Rouille,* and afterwards the Marquis *de Torcy,* to make very plausible Overtures, which were generally thought to be the more sincere, in that the whole Kingdom of *France* was then reduc’d to the utmost Extremities, by the great scarcity of Money and Corn.

Several Visits, Interviews and Conferences having pass’d between the Ministers of *France,* and those of the Allies, the following Articles, Preliminary to the Treaties of a General Peace, were, at last, agreed on and concluded, *viz.*

I. A Good, firm, and lasting Peace, Confederacy, and perpetual Alliance and Amity, shall be forthwith treated and establish’d, between his Imperial Majesty, with all and each of his Imperial Majesty’s Allies, (principally the Kingdom of *Great-Britain,* and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces) on the one Part, and his most Christian Majesty, with his Allies, on the other Part. And seeing the present Conjunctions have not permitted his Imperial Majesty to take previously the Approbation and Consent of the Empire, upon all that relates to it, in several Articles contain’d in these Preliminaries, his Imperial Majesty shall endeavour to procure, according to the Usage establish’d in the Empire, as soon as possible, the Consent and Ratification of the said Empire, before the Execution of the Articles, which particularly concern the Empire.

B b 4

II. And

II. And to attain this good End speedily, and to enjoy it as much as possible, from this Time, Preliminary Articles are agreed, to serve for a Foundation of the Treaties of a general Peace.

III. First, in Consideration and in Consequence of the said good Peace, and sincere Union of all the Partes, the most Christian King shall, from this Time, acknowledge publicly and authentickly, as also afterwards, in the Treaties of Peace to be made, King *Charles III.* in the Quality of King of *Spain*, the *Isles*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and generally of all the Territories dependant, and comprehended under the Name of the Monarchy of *Spain*, in what Part of the World soever situate: (except what is to be given to the Crown of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy*, pursuant to the Treaties between the High Allies, and the Barrier in the *Netherlands*, which the said King *Charles III.* is to put into the Hands of the said Lords, the States General of the United Provinces, agreeably to the Tenour of the Grand Alliance, in the Year 1701; except also what shall be hereafter mention'd touching the upper Quarter of *Geiderland*; and also except the Agreements yet to be made with the said King *Charles III.* without excepting any Thing more) Together with all the Rights which the late King *Charles II.* did possess, or ought to have possess'd, as well for himself as his Heirs and Successors, according to the Will of *Philip IV.* and the Compacts establish'd and receiv'd in the most serene House of *Austria*.

IV. And so far as the Duke of *Anjou* is at present in Possession of a great Part of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, of the Coast of *Tuscany*, the *Isles*, and Part of the *Netherlands*, 'tis reciprocally agreed, That for the sure Execution of the said Articles, and of the Treaties of Peace to be made, the said Treaties shall be finish'd within the Term of Two Months, to begin from the First Day of the ensuing Month of *June*, if possible: during which Time his most Christian Majesty shall so order it, that the Kingdom of *Sicily* shall be put into the Possession of his Catholick Majesty *Charles III.* And the said Duke shall depart in full Satisfaction and Freedom, out of the Limits of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, with his Consort, the Princess his

Children, their Effects, and generally, all Persons who are willing to follow them: And if, before the said Term expire, the said Duke of *Anjou* do not consent to the Execution of the present Agreement, the most Christian King, and the stipulating Princes and States, shall, by Concert, take proper Measures that it may have entire Effect, and that all *Europe* may, by the full Performance of the said Treaties of Peace, speedily enjoy perfect Tranquillity.

V. To facilitate the Establishment of that Tranquillity, his Most Christian Majesty shall, within the Term of the Two Months, withdraw the Troops and Officers he now has in *Spain*, and also those he has in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, as well as in the other Countries and Territories depending on the said Monarchy in *Europe*, and from the *Indies* as soon as possible; promising on the Faith and Honour of a King, not to send hence forward, to the Duke of *Anjou* (if he refuse to acquiesce with this) or to his Adherents, any Succour, whether of Troops, Artillery, Ammunition, or Money, directly or indirectly.

VI. The Monarchy of *Spain* shall remain intire in the House of *Austria*, in the Manner above mention'd. None of its Parts shall ever be dismember'd; neither shall the said Monarchy, in whole, or in Part, be united to that of *France*; nor shall one and the same King, or a Prince of the House of *France*, ever become Sovereign thereof, in any Manner whatsoever, either by Will, Legacy, Succession, Marriage-Compact, Donation, Sale, Contract, or any other Way whatever: No King who shall reign in *France*, nor any Prince of the House of *France*, shall ever reign in *Spain*, or acquire within the Extent of the said Monarchy, any Towns, Forts, Places or Countries in any Part of it, especially in the *Netherlands*, by virtue of any Donation, Sale, Exchange, Marriage-Compact, Inheritance, Legacy, Succession by a Will, or in Default of a Will, in whatever kind or manner-soever, either for himself, or for the Princes his Sons or Brothers, or their Heirs and Descendants.

VII. Particularly and especially, *France* shall never become possess'd of the *Spanish Indies*, nor send Ships thither to extirpate Commerce, under any Pretext whatever.

VIII. His

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VIII. His most Christian Majesty being willing to give sure Proofs of the Intention he has to maintain a firm and lasting Peace, and to put an end to all Umbrage of his Designs, consents to deliver up to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire the City and Citadel of *Strasbourg*, in the Condition they are now in, with the Fort of *Kehl*, and its Dependencies and Appurtenances, situate on either side of the *Rhine*, without any demand of Cost or Expences, under what Pretext soever; with 100 Pieces of Brass Cannon of different Sizes; that is to say, 50 Pieces some Twenty-four, some Twelve Pounders; and 50 Pieces, some of Eight, some of Four Pound Ball, and Ammunition in Proportion; to be re-establish'd in the Rank, Prerogatives and Privileges of an Imperial City, which it enjoy'd before it came under the Dominion of his most Christian Majesty; which said City of *Strasbourg* and its Forts, shall be deliver'd up and evacuated immediately after the Ratifications of the Emperor and Empire, shall be exchange'd at the *Hague*; and on the Appearance, at the Gates of the said City and Forts of *Strasbourg*, of some Person authoriz'd by a full Power from his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, in the usual Form, to take Possession of them.

IX. That the Town of *Brisac*, with its Territory, shall be evacuated by his most Christian Majesty, and by him restor'd to his Imperial Majesty, and the House of *Austria*, with all the Cannon, Artillery and Stores of War that shall be found in it by the end of *June* at farthest; to be henceforward enjoy'd by his Imperial Majesty, as his own Propriety, so as his Imperial Majesty has enjoy'd and ought to have enjoy'd it in Execution of the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Ryswick*, with the Cannon, Artillery, and Warlike Stores now in it.

X. His most Christian Majesty shall from henceforward possess *Alsace* in the literal Sense of the Treaty of *Munster*; so that he shall content himself with the Right of Prefecture over the Ten Imperial Towns of the said *Alsace*, yet without extending the said Right to the Prejudice of the Prerogatives and Rights belonging to them in common with other free Towns of the Empire; and he shall enjoy his said Rights, together

together with the Prerogatives, Revenues, and Domesties, in such Manner as his said Majesty ought to have enjoy'd them from the Time of the Conclusion of the said Treaty, putting the Fortifications of the said Towns into the same Condition they were in at that Time; excepting the Town of *Landau*, the Possession and Propriety of which, shall belong for ever to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, with Power, to demolish the said Place, if the Emperor and Empire shall think fit.

XI. In Consequence of the said Treaty of *Munster*, his said most Christian Majesty shall within the Time agreed, cause to be demolish'd at his own Expence, the fortified Places he has at present on the *Rhine*, between *Basil* and *Philipsbourg*, namely *Hunningen*, *New-Brisac*, and *Fort Louis*, with all the Works belonging to the said Fort on each side of the *Rhine*, so that they may never be rebuilt hereafter.

XII. That the Town and Cattle of *Rhynfelt*, with their Dependencies, shall be possessed by the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, till it shall be agreed otherwise.

XIII. The Queen of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States-General affirming, That the Clause inserted in the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, relating to Religion, is contrary to the Tenour of the Peace of *Munster*, and consequently ought to be repeal'd, 'tis thought fit, that this Affair shall be refer'd to the Negotiation of the General Peace.

XIV. As to *Great Britain*, his most Christian Majesty shall, from this Time, and in the Negotiation of the Treaties of Peace to be made, acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain* in that Quality,

XV. His said Majesty shall also acknowledge the Succession of the Crown of *Great Britain* in the Protestant Line, as 'tis settled by Acts of the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

XVI. The most Christian King shall deliver up to the Crown of *Great Britain*, what *France* possesses in the Island of *Newfoundland*; and on the Part of the Queen of *Great Britain*, as well as on the Part of his most Christian Majesty, all the Countries, Islands, Ports and Colonies, which have been possess'd by the Arms of either Side, during the present War,

in

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XVII. His said Majesty promises to cause all the Fortifications of the Town of *Danigré*, its Harbour and Rys-banks, with what belongs thereto, to be raz'd at his Expence without Exception, so that one half of the said Fortifications shall be raz'd, and one half of the Harbour fill'd up within the Space of two Months, and the other half of the Fortifications shall be raz'd, as well as the other half of the Harbour fill'd up in the Space of Two Months more, to the Satisfaction of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces; Nor shall it be permitted ever to rebuild the Fortifications or make the Harbour navigable again directly or indirectly.

XVIII. The Person who pretends to be King of *Great Britain*, having desir'd to depart the Kingdom of *France*, and so to prevent the Demand which the Queen of *Great Britain* and the *British* Nation have made, shall retire into such Country, and in such Manner as by the next ensuing Treaty of a general Peace, shall be agreed as to the Means of his retiring.

XIX. In the principal Negotiation of the Treaties to be made, Care shall be taken to settle a Treaty of Commerce with *Great-Britain*.

XX. As to the King of *Portugal*, his most Christian Majesty shall consent, that he shall enjoy all the Advantages stipulated in his Favour, by the Treaties made between him and his Allies.

XXI. His Majesty shall acknowledge the King of *Prussia* in that Quality, and promise not to disturb him in the Possession of the Principality of *Neufchatel*, and of the County of *Valengin*.

XXII. And as to the Lords, the States General, his Majesty shall yield and make over to them, in the most express Terms that shall be judg'd proper, the Place of *Furnes*, with its District (the Fort of *Knocque* being therein included) *Menin* with its Verge, *Tyres* with its Castellany and Dependencies, which from hence forward shall be *Bailieu* or *Belle*, *Warneton*, *Comines*, *Werwick*, *Poperingen*, and what depends on the Places above-mention'd, (the Town and Castellany,

stellany of *Cassel*, remaining to his most Christian Majesty) *Lille* with its Castellany, (the Town and Government of *Doway* to be excepted) *Conde* and *Mauberge*, with all their Dependencies, the whole in such Condition as the said Places are at present, and particularly with the Cannon, Artillery, and Stores of War therein; to serve with the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands*, for the Barrier of the said Lords, the States-General, upon which they may agree with the said King *Charles*, according to the Tenour of the Grand Alliance, as well with Regard to the Garrisons, which the said Lords the States-General shall maintain therein, as to all other things in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and particularly, as to their having in Propriety and Sovereignty the Upper Quarter of *Gelderland*, according to the 52d Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, in the Year 1648, as from time to time they shall think fit. But 'tis understood, that if there is a general Magazine in *Tournay*, the Quantity and Quality of the Artillery and Ammunition to be left in the said Place shall be agreed.

XXIII. His most Christian Majesty shall also deliver up all the Towns, Forts, and Places which he shall have possess'd himself of in the *Spanish Netherlands*, in the Condition they are now in, with their Cannon, Artillery, and Warlike Stores. But 'tis understood, that if, since the Troops of the most Christian King enter'd *Namur*, any Magazine has been erected, or Stores of Artillery and Ammunition laid up, in that Town and Castle, more than for their Defence, they shall be remov'd by the Officers of his most Christian Majesty, in concert with those of the States-General at the Time of the Evacuation, which shall not on this Account be retarded, but shall be done within the Time that shall be limited; the whole on this express Condition, that the Roman Catholick Religion shall be maintain'd in all the said Places to be deliver'd up, and in their Dependencies, in the same manner as 'tis now establish'd there; except, that the Garrisons of the States may exercise their own Religion, as well in the Places yielded and made over for enlarging the Barrier, as in the Places of the *Spanish Netherlands* that are to be restored.

XXIV. And

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XXIV. And to the End that this Agreement may have its full Effect, his most Christian Majesty promises not to cause to be removed from this time, any Cannon, Artillery or Ammunition, out of the Towns and Forts which are to be restor'd and yielded up by Virtue of these Articles.

XXV. His Majesty shall grant to the said Lords the States-General, in relation to their Commerce, what is stipulated by the Treaty of *Ryswick*, the *Tarif* (or Book of Rates) of 1664, the Suppression of the *Tarifs* made since, the Revocation of the Edicts, Declarations, and Arrêts posterior to them, contrary to the said *Tarif* of 1664, and also the Abolition of the *Tarif* made between *France* and the said Lords the States-General the 29th of *May* 1699. So that, with respect to them, the *Tarif* of the Year 1664, only shall be of Force; And all *Dutch* Vessels trading in the Ports of *France*, shall be exempted from paying the Tonnage Duty of 50 Sols *per* Ton.

XXVI. After the Signing of the Treaties of Peace, his Majesty shall acknowledge the Ninth Electorate erected in Favour of his Electoral Highness of *Hannover*.

XXVII. The Duke of *Savoy* shall be reinstated in the Possession of the Duchy of *Savoy*, the County of *Nice*, and of all the other Places and Countries hereditarily belonging to him, and of which his said Majesty shall have possess'd himself by his Arms during the Course of the present War, without any Reservation; his Majesty consenting besides, that his Royal Highness shall enjoy all the Countries, Territories and Places, which have been yielded and made over to him by the Emperour and his Allies.

XXVIII. That the King make over to the Duke of *Savoy*, the Propriety and Sovereignty of the Towns of *Exilles*, *Fenestrolles*, and *Chamont*, now possess'd by the Arms of his Royal Highness, together with the Valley of *Pragelas*; as also whatever lies on this side the *Genevre* and other Mountains; so that from henceforward the said Mountains may serve for a Barrier and Limits between the Kingdom of *France* and the Principality of *Piedmont*.

XXIX. As to the late Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*,

*varia*, their Demands and Pretensions shall be referr'd to the Negotiation of the Treaties of Peace: And the Dispositions and Decrees of his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, made and issued during this War, shall be maintain'd, with respect to his Electoral Highness *Palatine*, who shall remain in Possession of the Upper *Palatinate*, the County of *Cham*, and the Rank and Dignity with which he has been invested by his Imperial Majesty; as also with respect to what has been done in Favour of the Imperial Towns of *Donaues*, and to several other Dispositions of that Nature. And for what relates to the Garrisons which on the Part of the Lords the States-General may be plac'd in the Town of *Huy*, the Citadel of *Liege*, and the Town of *Bon*, they shall remain there, till an Agreement otherwise be made with his Imperial Majesty and the Empire.

XXX. And for removing all Doubts touching the Execution of the said Articles, and to hasten the Execution of them, upon which depends the Re-establishment of the general Tranquility, and of reciprocal Confidence and Amity between the Parties,

XXXI. 'Tis agreed, that the further Demands, which the Emperor, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the said Lords the States-General may make in the Negotiation of the General Peace, as well as the most Christian King, shall not interrupt the Cessation of Arms which will be mention'd in a subsequent Article.

XXXII. As for the Empire, the Four associated Circles, the King of *Portugal*, the King of *Prussia*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Allies, they shall be free to make in the said general Congress such Demands (besides what is above granted to them) as they shall think convenient.

XXXIII. The general Negotiation shall be finish'd, if possible, within Two Months, as is aforesaid.

XXXIV. And to the End the said Negotiation may be the better terminated within the Space of the said Two Months; and that, upon the Execution of the said Articles, the Peace may immediately be made, 'tis agreed, that there shall be a Cessation of Arms between the Armies of all the Parties who are at War,

to

to

The Restoration of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, which was stipulated by one of these Articles, could not be digested by the *French* King, who, upon the Marquiss de Torcy's, return to *Paris*, refused to ratify the said *Preliminaries*; and in order to raise in his Subjects an indignation against the exorbitant Demands of the Allies, and thereby encourage them to bear some time longer the Burden and Calamities of the War, caus'd the following Circular Letter to be written to all the Governours of his Provinces.

C O U N C I L,

THE Hopes of an Approaching Peace were so generally spread in my Kingdom, that out of regard to the Loyalty my People have express'd during the whole Course of my Reign, I think myself oblig'd to give them the Comfort of acquainting them with the Reasons which still hinder their Enjoying the Repose I design'd to procure to them.

In order to restore the same, I would have accepted Conditions very opposite to the Security of my Frontier Provinces; but the more Facility and Desire I have shewn to dissipate the Umbrages which my Enemies affect to preserve of my Power and Designs, the more have they multiplied their Pretensions; insomuch, that by Degrees, adding new Demands to the First, and making use either of the Duke of *Savoy's* Name, or of the Interest of the Princes of the Empire; They have, at once, let me see, That they had no other Intention, than to increase at the expence of my Crown, the States bordering upon *France*, and to open to themselves easie Ways to penetrate into the Heart of my Kingdom, as often as it would suit with their Interest to begin a new War. Nor would the War I now maintain, and was willing to have ended, have ceased, had I consented to the Proposals they have made to me; for they fix'd within Two Months the Term, wherein I was on my Part to execute the Treaty; and, during that Interval, they pretended to oblige me to deliver up to them the Places they demanded of me in the *Low-Countries*, and *Alsace*, and to raze those, on the Demolishing whereof they insisted; refusing, on their Part, to enter into any

any other Engagements than the Suspension of all Acts of Hostility till the First Day of *August*; and Reserving to themselves the Liberty of Acting then by Force of Arms, in case the King of *Spain*, my Grand-Son, persisted in the Resolution of defending the Crown God has given him, and rather to perish than abandon faithful People, who for Nine Years have acknowledg'd him as their Lawful King. Such a Suspension, more dangerous than War in itself, would rather put off than forward Peace; for it would not only have been necessary to continue the same Expence for the Maintenance of my Armies, but as soon as the Term of the Suspension of Arms would have expir'd, my Enemies would have attack'd me, with the new Advantages they would have taken from the Towns, into which I should have introduc'd them. My self, at the same time that I should have demolish'd those that are a Bulwark to some of my Frontier Provinces. I pass over in Silence the Proposals they have insinuated to me, of joining my Forces with those of the Confederates; and to compel my Grandson to descend the Throne, if he did not voluntarily consent to live, for the future, without Dominions, and to reduce himself to the Condition of a private Man. It is against Humanity, to believe that they had even the thought of engaging me in such an Alliance with them; but altho' the Tenderness I have for my People be as hearty as for my own Children; altho' I bear a Part in all the Ills which the War makes such faithful Subjects undergo; and I have shewn to all *Europe*, that I sincerely desir'd to make 'em enjoy Peace, I am perswaded they would themselves oppose the Acceptance of it, on Conditions equally opposite to Justice, and to the Honour of the *French* Name.

It is therefore my Intention, that all those who for so many Years past give me Demonstrations of their Zeal, by contributing with their Labours, Fortunes, and Blood, towards the Maintaining of so heavy a War, may know, That the only Value my Enemies pretended to set on the Offers I was willing to make to them, was a Suspensions of Arms, which, being stinted to the Space of Two Months,

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would have procur'd to 'em more considerable Advantages than they may expect from the Confidence they put in their Troops, as I repose mine in the Protection of God : Hoping that the Purity of my Intentions will draw the Divine Blessing on my Arms. I write to the Archbishops and Bishops of my Kingdom, to excite again the Fervency of Prayers in their respective Diocesses, and at the same time, I order you to acquaint my People within the Extent of your Government, that they would enjoy Peace, if it had been in my Power, as it was in my Will, to procure to them a Good they wish for with Reason, but which must be obtain'd by new Efforts, since the exorbitant Conditions I would have granted are useless towards the Restoring of the publick Tranquillity. I therefore leave it to your Prudence to make my Intentions known, in such a manner, as you shall judge convenient : And so, Cousin, I pray God to have you in his holy Keeping.

At the same time, the King of *France* wrote another Circular Letter to the Archbishop of *Paris*, and the other Prelates of his Kingdom, as follows :

## COUSIN,

I Have look'd upon, as one of the principal Duties incumbent on me, the Care of procuring Repose to my People, at a Time when the Calamities of the War are not the only Evils with which it has pleased God to afflict my Kingdom ; But whatever Offers I have made to my Enemies, for the Restoring of the Publick Tranquillity, I have found by their Answers, that, confiding in their Troops, their Views are still opposite to the Contributing towards the Peace of *Europe*. Now, considering that the Events of this Campaign are to decide the Matter ; that the same are entirely in God's Hands ; that his Holy Religion is attack'd by my Enemies ; and that his Concerns are abandon'd even by those who ought to maintain them, with the greatest Zeal, I have reason to hope, that he will be pleased to give me new Marks of his Divine Protection, since he knows the Purity of my intentions, and the Sacrifices I was resolv'd to make for the Repose of so many Nations. We must, in the mean Time, with

no

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no less Confidence than Humility, implore his Mercy, in order to obtain the Influence thereof. Wherefore 'tis my intention, that you still excite the Devotion of the People of your Diocess, by ordaining new Prayers for the Prosperity of my Arms, and a happy Conclusion of the Peace. And not doubting your Zeal on this Occasion, I pray God, *Cousin*, to have you in his holy Keeping. Done at *Versailles*, the 12th of *June*, 1709.

Sign'd

L O U I S,

and lower,

*Philippeaux.*

It is to be observed, that the breaking off of the Negotiation of Peace, was soon attended with the disgrace of *Monsieur de Chamillard*, the King's Prime Minister, and with some Coldness towards *Madam de Maintenon*, who were both said to have given larger Instructions to *Monsieur de Rouille*, and the *Marquis de Torcy*, than his most Christian Majesty intended.

On the other Hand, the High Allies justly incens'd with Indignation at the Proceeding of the *French*, which had all the Air of Artifice and Amusement, resolv'd to improve their late Advantages, by a vigorous Prosecution of the War. In order to that, the Duke of *Marlborough* and *Prince Eugene* having assembled their Army, march'd towards the Enemy, then encamp'd in the Plain of *Lens*, under the command of *Mareschal de Villars*, but finding them so advantageously posted, and their Camp so strongly fortified, that it was impossible to attack them without infinite disadvantage and Hazard, the Confederate Generals resolv'd to lay siege to the important City of *Tournay*, the Conquest of which, notwithstanding the great Fortifications, appear'd the more easy, because the *French* General, on the approach of the Confederate Army, had unadvisedly, very much weakened that Garrison.

On the 27th of *June*, N. S. the Place was invested: The Trenches were opened the Night between the 7th and 8th of *July*, and the Siege prosecuted with so much vigour, that on the 28th the Garrison demanded to capitulate for the Town, which they surrendred the 30th. The next day, the *Marquis de Surville*, the *French* Governour, was entertain'd at Dinner by

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Prince *Eugene*; and in the Afternoon retir'd into the Citadel, which his Garrison had already entred, to the number of about 4000 Men. But a great Number of their Men conceal'd themselves in the Town, and 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, with about 150 Men came to the Duke of *Marlborough's* Camp. At the same time, the Enemy's Sick and Wounded, to the Number of 800, march'd out to be conducted to *Douay*; and the Earl of *Albemarle*, who was appointed Governour of *Tournay*, took possession of the Town. The Time agreed to for evacuating the same expiring that Night, the Allies began to work again on the Approaches to the Citadel: Count *Lottum* continuing the Command of his Attack, with 4 Lieutenants-General, 4 Majors-General, as many Brigadiers-General, 30 Battallions, and 10 Squadrons, including the Garrison of the Town. On the 1st of *August*, about 6 in the Evening, the *French* began the First Act of Hostility, and fir'd from the Citadel with Cannon and Small Shot, upon Count *Lottum's* Trenches and Batteries, from whence they were immediately answer'd, and the Fire continu'd very hot on both Sides, the whole Night. The same Day the Dispositions were made for a second Attack; the new Lines of Circumvallation about the Citadel almost finish'd, and Orders given for levelling those about the Town.

In the mean time, the Marquis de *Surville*, having propos'd to the Confederate Generals, the appointing of Two Persons to treat about the Surrender of the Citadel, the Princes of *Savoy* and *Marlborough* named the *Sieur de Lalo*, a Brigadier in the *British* Troops, and the Marquis de *Surville*, the Marquis de *Ravignan*, a Brigadier in the *French* Service, who having conferr'd together, drew up and subscribed the following Agreement.

Articles for settling the Time of Surrendering the Citadel of *Tournay*, concluded by Brigadier *Lalo*, on the Part of their Highnesses Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*; and by the Marquis de *Ravignan*, Major-General, on the Part of the Marquis de *Surville*.

I. That

I. **T**HAT the Citadel of *Tournay* shall be evacuated and deliver'd up to the Allies, on the 5th of *September* next, at Noon : But in case the King's Army obliges the 30 Battallions and 10 Squadrons, (amounting to about 18000 Men) employ'd in the Siege, to raise it, the Capitulation shall be void.

II. That the Garrison of the Citadel, as well Officers as Soldiers, shall march out with Arms and Baggage, and the Honours of War, on the 5th of *September* next at Noon, and shall be conducted in Safety by the shortest Way to the nearest Town, or to the Army of *France*, at the Choice of the Marquis de *Surville*, or of the Person who shall command.

III. On the 8th of *August*, in case Mons. de *Ravignan* brings the Ratification of the Court, sufficient Hostages shall be given on both Sides ; and a Gate shall be deliver'd, after the Capitulation shall be sign'd by the fore-mention'd Principals, the 8th or 9th of *August*.

IV. That the Guard which the Allies shall place at the said Gate of the Citadel, shall not exceed the Number of 300 Men ; in the midst of which Gate a Barrier shall be made in the usual manner.

V. That Commissaries shall be appointed to see that the said 30 Battallions and 10 Squadrons shall remain before the said Citadel, till the Day stipulated, which is the 5th of the Month of *September* next ; and that none of those Troops shall be employ'd otherwise than in investing the Citadel, or in keeping the Town of *Tournay*, till after the time that the Citadel shall be evacuated and deliver'd up to the Allies.

VI. That the Hostages given on the Part of the Allies shall be authoriz'd by the Marquis de *Surville*, to view the Magazines, Artillery, Ammunitions of War, Provisions, and other Things, that are to be left in the Citadel after the Evacuation, in the Condition they are in on the 8th of *August* : But 'tis understood that Use shall be made of the Things necessary for the daily Subsistence of the Garrison, till the Day of the Evacuation ; and the Marquis de *Surville* shall promise, That the Surplus of the said Ammunitions, &c. shall not be dissipated, nor damag'd, during the time the Garrison shall remain in the Citadel.

VII. That the 8th or 9th of *August* next the Gate shall be put into the Possession of the Allies ; and from the Signing of the Capitulation there shall be a Cessation of Arms on both Sides.

Done and concluded in two Instruments of the same Tenour, the 4th of *August*, 1709. If one Word be alter'd in them, the Agreement to be null.

Sign'd,

*Lala.*

*Ravignan,*

The same Day these Articles were Sign'd, the Marquis de *Ravignan* set out for the *French* Court, from whence he was to come back the 8th with the King's Ratification: But on this occasion, the *French* gave a fresh Instance of their Insincerity, and manifested to the World, that their Proposals for delivering up the Citadel of *Tournay*, were but an Artifice to gain Time, and, if possible, amuse the Allies: For the King of *France* refused to ratify these Articles, unless a general Cessation of Arms in the *Netherlands*, till the 5th of *September*, should, at the same time, be agreed on, which the Allies rejected. Hereupon the Siege was carried on with all possible vigour, and notwithstanding the great Difficulties the Confederate Troops met with in their Attacks, by reason of the vast number of the Enemies Mines, On the 31st of *August* the Garrison beat the Chamade, desiring to Capitulate. Hostages being thereupon exchanged on both sides; Monsieur *Dolet* and the Marquis de *Ravignan*, both Majors General, and four other Officers came out of the Citadel; and Major-General *Hondorff*, with five Officers more on the side of the Confederates, were sent in. Monsieur *Dolet* and his Company were brought to the Earl of *Albemarle's* House, where the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Prince of *Savoy* being met to receive their Proposals, they offer'd to surrender the Place, and delivered a Project of a Capitulation, consisting of Eleven Articles, to the Effect following.

I. That the Chappel should not be made use of for the Exercise of any other Religion but the Roman-Catholick, upon any Pretext whatsoever.

II. That the Marquis de *Surville*, Monsieur de *Mesgrigny*, and all the General Officers and others,

both

both Foot and Dragoons, should march out with Arms and Baggage, three Days after the Signing of the Capitulation, to be conducted to some neighbouring Garrison.

III. That the Commissaries of War, and other such like Officers, with their Clerks, Papers, &c. should be conducted along with the Garrison.

IV. That they should have 12 Pieces of Cannon and 6 Mortars, with Ammunition for 20 Charges, and Horses and Waggon, and other Necessaries for that purpose to be furnished by the Besiegers.

V. That the Garrison should march out, Drums beating, and Colours flying, with the other usual Marks of Honour.

VI. That they should have four covered Waggon.

VII. That the Prisoners should be returned on each side, and no Deserters stop'd.

VIII. That Waggon, Horses, and all things requisite should be furnished for carrying the Garrison, together with their Baggage.

IX. That the General Officers, and all others of the Garrison, should have leave to remove their Effects, either in the Town or Citadel, in two Months after the Capitulation.

X. That the Sick and Wounded should be left in *Tournay*, to be taken Care of till their Recovery, and then sent away to the nearest Towns in the *French* Dominions.

XI. That the Hostages on both sides should be returned after the Execution of the Capitulation.

*Monsieur Dolet*, and the other *French* Hostages, having made these Offers, were desir'd to withdraw, and after some Consultation they were called in again, and received for Answer from the Duke of *Marborough* and the Prince of *Savoy*, That they could allow no other Conditions, but that the Garrison should surrender themselves Prisoners of War. So they returned into the Citadel, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon the Hostilities began again. Their Highnesses thought fit to insist on having the Garrison Prisoners of War, as well for the Honour of the Arms of the Allies, as in Return for the *French* King's having refused to agree to the former Capitulation; besides,

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besides that during the Cessation, the Advices they had before were confirmed: The French Officers owning that they were obliged to Surrender for want of Provisions.

The Parties of the Allies having begun to play again very warmly on the Citadel, the Earl of *Albemarle* came the 2d of September, N. S. about Nine in the Evening, to the Confederate Camp at *Orchies*, to give the Princes of *Saxony* and *Mariborough* an Account, that soon after they left *Tourna*, that Morning, *Monfieur de Saville* had desired Leave to speak to his Lordship; and that he having been accordingly in Conference with him, he had received the Proposals for the Surrender of the Citadel, and desired their Highnesses Orders thereupon, with which he returned about Ten: and the next Morning about break of Day sent Word back, that the Garrison was, at last, willing to Surrender upon such Terms as should be allowed them; whereupon their Highnesses immediately came to him, and Signed the Articles of Surrender with the Marquis de *Saville*, by which all the Officers and Soldiers were to retain only their Swords and Baggage, and leaving their Colours and Arms behind, were permitted to return to *France*, upon condition that they should not serve until they were actually exchanged against the like number of Officers and Soldiers of the Allies: and those whom the *French* surpriz'd at *Warwicke* at the Beginning of the Campaign were immediately to be sent back. According to this Capitulation the Garrison deliver'd a Gate of the Citadel the 3d of September in the Afternoon, and march'd out the 5th to be conducted to *Cologne*.

Two Days before (Sept. 3.) the Army under Prince *Eugene*, and that under the Duke of *Mariborough* decamp'd from *Orchies*, pass'd the *Scheid*, join'd in their March, and encamp'd the 4th at *Brielen*, the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Ca'el*, who was detached the 3d in the Morning with 4000 Foot and 60 Squadrons, encamping at some distance. The 5th the Troops continued their March, notwithstanding a violent Rain. The Prince of *Hesse* pass'd the *Haisne* in the Afternoon, and the Grand Army encamp'd at *Sirac*, within a League of that River. The 6th in the Morning, the Army was again in motion, and in the

the March the Duke of *Marlborough* received advice, that the Prince of *Hesse* made the disposition for Attacking the *French* Lines from the *Haisne* to the *Sambre*, Three Regiments of Dragoons had abandoned the same. The *French* design'd, it seems, to defend those Lines: For the Chevalier de *Luxembourg*, with a great Detachment, arrived soon after to sustain the Regiments of Dragoons, and was follow'd by the *Mareschal de Villars* in Person, but seeing that their Troops had quitted their Post, they march'd back to *Quievrain*, whither the whole *French* Army march'd from their Lines behind the *Scarpe*. On the other Hand, the Prince of *Hesse*, having taken Possession of the other Lines already mention'd, encamp'd with his Right to *Jenappe*, and his Left to *Tremiers*, whereby *Mons* was in a manner block'd up; and the Army under the Duke of *Marlborough* encamp'd at *Havre*, and that under Prince *Eugene* at *St. Denis*.

On the 7th of *September*, the *Mareschal Bussfers* arrived at the *French* Camp, and making his Compliment to the *Mareschal Villars*, told him, he came to serve him as his Aid-de Camp. The same Day the Duke of *Marlborough* receiv'd advice, about Noon, that the *French* were marching to attack the Body under the Command of the Prince of *Hesse*, whereupon Orders were given to the Army to decamp from *Havre*, and leave their Baggage behind, and their Tents standing. The Army having made a Halt on the Hills of *Belian*, where the Prince of *Hesse* had his Quarters, the Generals received there further intelligence, that the *French* had not pass'd the Defiles of *Wafme*, but were encamp'd between the *Sern* and *Kievrain*; whereupon the Confederate Army continued in that Camp the following Night, but in order of Battle. The Duke of *Marlborough* being inform'd, that the Garrison of *Mons* consisted only of Nine weak *Spanish*, and Two *Bavarian* Battallions, besides the Dragoons of *Pastour*, conjectured, that Monsieur de *Villars*'s chief design was to oblige the Confederates to draw all their Forces into the Plain, between *Belian* and *Frameries*, that he might have an opportunity to throw Reinforcements into *Mons*, to prevent which his Grace sent some Troops towards *St. Guislain*. The

9. 8th Prince *Eugene* and the Duke spent the whole Day in viewing the Ground between the Two Armies, and the 9th in the Morning, the *French* made a Motion, as if they would march towards *Bessu*; but the Duke of *Marlborough* being advanc'd with some other Generals to take a narrow view of their Army, they soon perceiv'd that the Motion of their Left was only a Feint to cover the March of their Right which filed off at the same time; whereupon his Grace, being unwilling to lose a Minute's time, order'd his Army to march by his Left: By which motion the Two Armies came so near a little after Two, that they cannonaded one another till the Evening. They continued all the Night in the same Situation, the *French* being posted behind the Woods of *la Mente* and *Taisnieres*, near *Taisnieres* and *Malplaquet*, where they intrench'd themselves the 10th; and the Confederate Troops lay with the Right near *Sart* and *Bleron*, and the Left on the Edge of the Wood of *Lagniere*, the Head Quarters being near the Center at *Blaregnies*.

The Princes of *Savoy* and *Marlborough*, in concert with *Messieurs Gossinga* and *Hoeft*, the States Field-Deputies, having resolved to attack the *French*, notwithstanding their advantageous Posts and Intrenchments, Orders were sent to the Troops, that had been employ'd in the Siege of *Tournay*, to joyn the Grand Army; which they did the same Night. The next Day, there happen'd an obstinate Engagement between the Two Armies, of which the Duke of *Marlborough* gave the following Account to Mr. *Boyle*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State to the Queen of *Great Britain*.

From the Camp at *Blaregnies*, Sept. 11. N. S.

AS soon as I had dispatch'd my Letter to you on Saturday from *Havre*, we were alarm'd with the Enemies marching to attack the Prince of *Hesse*, upon which the whole Army was immediately put in Motion; but it was next Day at Noon before all the Troops could come up. In the Morning they sent out a Detachment of four hundred Horse to observe our March, which the Head of the Prince of *Hesse*'s Troops attacked, and took the Colonel who commanded them, with the Lieutenant-Colonel,

Colonel, and several other Officers, and about fifty Prisoners. Upon notice of our Army's lying on this side the *Hayne*, the Enemy stretched out their Line from *Queirvain* to the Right, which they continued to do the next Day, and yesterday they possessed themselves of the Wood of *Dour* and *Blangies*, where they immediately began to Intrench. This Motion of the Enemy kept our Army for Two Nights under their Arms; and in the Evening, as soon as the Twenty-one Battallions, and Four Squadrons, we were expecting from *Tournay* were come within reach, it was resolved to attack them, and the necessary Dispositions being made, we accordingly began at eight this Morning. The Fight was maintained with great Obstinacy till near Twelve a Clock before we could force their Intrenchments, and drive them out of the Wood into the Plain, where their Horse was all drawn up, and ours advancing upon them, the whole Army engaged, and fought with great Fury till past Three in the Afternoon, when the Enemy's Horse began to give way, and to retire towards *Maubeuge* and *Valenciennes*, and part of them towards *Conde*. We pursued them to the Defile by *Bavay* with great Slaughter, all our Troops behaving themselves with the greatest Courage. We are now encamped on the Field of *Battel*. You may believe the Loss must have been very great on both sides. We have a good number of Officers Prisoners; but as I send this Express by Lieutenant-Colonel *Graham*, who carries a Letter to the Queen, I must refer you to my next for further Particulars. In the mean time I heartily Congratulate you upon this great Success, and am truly,

S I R, *Your most Faithful Humble Servant,*  
*Marlborough.*

I had almost forgot to tell you, that we took *St. Guislain* yesterday in the Evening. Sword in Hand, and made the Garrison, consisting of two hundred Men, Prisoners of War.

A Relation of the said Battle, Printed at *Trussels*, contains the following remarkable Particulars.

The 11th, the Detachment which arriv'd the Evening before from *Tournay*, marched towards

*Sart,*

1702. *Sarr*, and was placed near the Wood on the Right Wing, where the Enemies left Wing was posted. The Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and the States-Deputies went together along the Lines, between the Enemies Army and ours, in which several Soldiers were kill'd by the Cannon in their Presence. Some time after, that is about 8 a-Clock, the Signal for the beginning of the Fight was given by a general Discharge of all the Artillery, and the Enemy were at once attacked in three different Places. It is not possible to express the Violence of their Fire or ours. Besides the advantageous situation of their Army, they defended themselves like brave Men, and made all the Resistance that could be expected from the best Troops. Who will then hereafter believe, that our Infantry could surmount so many Obstacles, resist so great a Fire, force the Intrenchments, drive the Enemy out of the Wood, and after all this draw up in order of Battle in the Plain, in the sight of the Enemy, and before their third Intrenchment? All this, however, was done in 5 hours by the Valour of our Troops, the Constancy of the Generals, and the continual Presence of our two Commanders in Chief. The Battalions who attack'd first were entirely defeated: Nevertheless, being still sustain'd by fresh Troops, the Enemy were forc'd every where out of their Intrenchments, and pull'd from the Wood into the Plain. Hereupon we saw their Horse and Foot draw up behind a third Intrenchment, more resolute and firm than ever, making a dreadful Fire on our Men, who came to form themselves out of the Wood. But here the Enemy were again sensible of the Valour and Bravery of our Troops, and of the consummate Experience of our Generals: For after they had several times repuls'd our Battalions, Prince *Eugene*, Sword in Hand, having put himself, on Foot, at the Head of the *Dutch* Infantry, this last Intrenchment was carried on all sides, and the Infantry that defended it pursued by several of our Battalions. Three Regiments of *Danish* Cavalry falling at the same time on the Enemy, made a terrible Slaughter, till having gained a second Wood

Wood they found means to escape; nor was it in our Power to insult them any more. In the mean time our Horse attacked the Enemy's Right Wing, but some of our Squadrons were at first put into some Disorder by the King's Household, which my Lord Duke perceiving, his Grace repair'd thither immediately, rallied the said Squadrons, and brought them himself to the Charge, with so good Success, that the Enemy gave Ground, and were entirely broken, retiring in disorder towards their Infantry, which had gain'd the little Wood, by the Favour whereof they retreated with Precipitation, abandoning to us the Field of Battle, their Wounded, Artillery, and Ammunition, having no Baggage with them. Hereupon 18 Squadrons were detached to disperse the Enemy, who retir'd towards *Quievrain*, & whose whole Left Wing they met a League on this side the little River *Haisnean*, consisting of above 100 Squadrons, commanded by *Marschal de Boufflers* in Person. Our Squadrons perceiving only at first the Enemy's Rear posted at the Corner of a Wood, our Dragoons made up to them and drove them without Resistance: But Colonel *de la Lippe*, and a Cornet, advancing too far were taken, without being perceived by our Men. The Wood being forced, our 18 Squadrons advanced into the Plain, and saw before them all the said Left Wing in three Columns, one of which retreated in good Order, and the other two in Confusion. At the sight of so great a Number of Enemies, our Men made a short Halt, and were surprized to see them face about, and draw up in order of Battle. However we kept our Ground, and posted our selves on the Height with the Wood of *Elonge* on our Right, but we immediately perceived, that the Enemy made a stand with no other Design than to pass a Gutter that was behind them. Hereupon we advanced towards them full Galop, but it was not possible for us to over take them on this side the Defile, and having passed the Gutter we pursued them still as far as the Village of *Quievrain*, where they had a Brigade of Foot, who obliged us to slacken our Pace, and to give them time to pass the Rivulet. Nevertheless, they

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they did not stop their March, till they came within a quarter of a League from the Rivulet, where the Squadrons that had fled before 18 of ours drew up on a Height. Thus the Right, Left, and Center of the Enemy's Army, were dispersed in three different Bodies, and driven two Leagues beyond their Intrenchments. We lay on the Field of Battle, full of Joy at this glorious and compleat Victory, which however has cost us abundance of Men.

Three Days after the Action, the States-Field-Deputies wrote the following Account of it to the States-General of the United Provinces.

*High and Mighty Lords,*

WE have had only the Honour to Congratulate your High Mightinesses on the most Glorious Victory obtained over the Enemy, by the Troops of the States and those of the High Allies, without being able to give any particulars of that important Action. The Enemy was forc'd to retire, with as much Precipitation as Consternation behind *Quessoy*, where, according to our Advices, they are now actually assembling their Army. Our Cavalry pursued them hard by *Batay*, where, and in the Neighbouring Places they made all their wounded Men Prisoners of War, without including those who were found on the Field of Battel, of whom Lists shall be made, which we shall have the Honour to transmit to your High Mightinesses. The Troops of the Household of the *French King* were for the greatest part ruined. We have taken a great number of Colours and Standards, and amongst others the First Standard, called, *La Cornette Blanche*, with 15 Pieces of Cannon or more. The *Marschal of Villerars* is dangerously wounded in the Thigh or Knee by a Musket-shot. The number of their Slain, Wounded, and Prisoners cannot be yet known, and we cannot yet give an account of the loss of the Troops of the State. Your High Mightinesses cannot but be sensible, that the Enemy could not be forced from 3 Intrenchments, well provided with Cannon, without a considerable loss; but the Glory and Honour the Troops of your High Mightinesses have gained in this Battle with an incomparable

Valour

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Valour, that the Prince of *Savoy* and the Duke of *Marlbrough* cannot sufficiently Praise, will give an immortal Name to the Forces of your High Mightinesses. It has not been hitherto possible to make any List of the Officers and Soldiers killed and wounded, because several of the latter dye every day. Mean time we beseech, that your High Mightinesses will give us leave to represent to you, with all Respect, how necessary it will be for retrieving the loss sustained, that your High Mightinesses should earnestly recommend to the States of the respective Provinces, to have, in the filling of the Vacancies of the chief Officers and Subalterns that have been killed, all possible Regard to the Provisional Nomination to be made by the Generals and the respective Collonels. We are perswaded, that we need not represent to your High Mightinesses the Consequences thereof, it being, in our Opinion, the only means for preserving Glory and Emulation among such valiant Troops. We add here the Disposition we have made in concert with the Generals under the approbation of your High Mightinesses, for exchanging the greatest part of the Regiments that were in the Fight, with those that are at present in their respective Garrisons. To morrow being appointed for a Thanksgiving Day, on which the usual Salvo's are to be made for this great Victory, we promise our selves that your High Mightinesses will not take it ill that we cause the same Solemnity of Thanks and Rejoycings to be observed in *Tourney* to morrow come Sevensnight. We Remain, &c.

Sign'd,

*J. V. Randwyck**W. Hoof.**S. V. Gossinga.**P. F. Vegelin van**Claerbergen.*

On the other hand, Marechal *Boufflers* gave the following Account of the Battle to the King his Master.

SIR,

THE Marechal de *Villars* has, this Day, receiv'd a considerable Wound; but the Surgeons

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ons say there is no Danger. It is a great Affliction to me, Sir, that I am unfortunately obliged to send you the News of the Loss of a new Battle; but I can assure your Majesty, never was misfortune accompanied with greater Glory. All your Majesty's Troops have acquir'd the greatest Reputation, as well for their Valour, as for their Firmness and Obstinacy, not yielding, at last, but to the Enemy's Superiority, and having all done perfect Wonders. All the Mareschal de Villars's Dispositions were entirely good, and the best that could be made by the most accomplish'd and experienc'd General. He behav'd himself in the Action with all imaginable Bravery and Activity, and, besides his good Example, gave all possible good Orders; but his Valour and Want of Care of his Person, occasion'd his Wound, which was very prejudicial to the Affair of this unfortunate Day. He did me the Honour to entrust me with the Right, and himself took care of the Left. We repuls'd the Enemy more than three or four times at both Attacks, with incredible Bravery on the part of the Troops; but the Center being somewhat expos'd, we were forced to carry Troops to the Left, where they were very much wanted; and the Enemy march'd so many Horse and Foot against the said Center, where there were none but Horse to oppose them, that we were oblig'd to yield to the infinitely superiour Number, and prodigious Efforts of the Enemy, after having charg'd them, however, at least 6 times, with the bravest Horse, and with the greatest Vigour, and push'd and broke two or three of the Enemy's Lines, who had been entirely beaten were it not for their Infantry, by whose favour they rallied; and so return'd upon our new-raisd Cavalry. I can assure your Majesty, that the Enemy's Loss is three times greater than ours, and that they can make no other Advantage of this unfortunate Action than gaining the Field of Battle; and I think I may also assure your Majesty, that this ill Success will not cost you an Inch of Ground; but that on the contrary, whenever your Majesty shall think fit to make Peace, the Enemy will have some respect

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respect for your Troops, and perhaps be more tractable, as flush'd as they are with Advantages, which they owe to their good Fortune, which may hereafter turn about. I cannot now give your Majesty any Particulars of this Action, but will endeavour to send them to morrow or next Day I can only assure your Majesty. That all the General Officers did their Duty perfectly well, and with the greatest Bravery and Skill; but Monsieur d'Artagnan, who commanded the Right of the Foot, distinguish'd himself in a particular manner, as well by his Valour, as by his good Orders. He had three Horses killed under him, and received four Blows upon his Cuirass. The Duke de Guiche, who was also on the Right, a little forwarder than Monsieur d'Artagnan, behav'd himself likewise with all possible Skill and Bravery, and received a Musket-Shot in his Leg. The Marquis d'Hautesfort, and Mr. de la Fraizilliere, who were also on the Right, and in Mr. d'Artagnan's Rear, shew'd the same Valour and Capacity. Mr. de Gassion, who commanded the Right Wing of Horse did Wonders at the Head of your Majesty's Household, and shewed on this Occasion, his Courage and Ability, having push'd and defeated more than once two or three of the Enemy's Lines, Sword in Hand. The Gens d'Arms, Light Horse, Musqueteers, and Horse Grenadiers, also did Wonders. The Prince de Rohan and Monsieur de Vidame, did all that could be expected from Persons of the greatest Valour.

The Gendarmery did Wonders also; and the Marquis de la Valiere was every where, and charged with all possible Bravery, at all the different Charges. The Cavalry behaved themselves very well, and all the Troops, as well as the Foot, stood with an incredible Firmness, one of the briskest Cannonades that ever was. All the Foot did Wonders, and distinguish'd themselves,

The Chevalier de St. George behaved himself during the whole Action with all possible Bravery and Vivacity. I say nothing of your Majesty's Left, by reason I was not there; but I know, that all the General Officers, and all the Troops, animated by

*The Marquess De L—— ry's*

the Marechal de Villars's Presence and Example, behaved themselves with all possible Valour.

' I hope, the whole Army will be re-assembled to-morrow behind the Rivulet of *Ronille*, between *Quefmay* and *Valenciennes*; and I believe, I may tell your Majesty, that it will be very considerable, and in a Condition to dispute the Ground with the Enemy. Never was a Retreat, after so long and bloody, and obstinate a Fight, made with more Order and Firmness.

' I don't believe the Enemy took 20 Men from us in the Pursuit: so that all they have, they took in the Action. Nor do I believe, that we have lost any Standards or Colours, or at least, but very few; and I am told that we have some of the Enemy's. They follow'd us in Battalia, and in very good Order, as far as the Defile of *Givete*; but with respect, not daring to attack us. The Disorder I am in through Fatigue, Weariness, and Pain, and the Orders I must give for the Army and the Country, not permitting me to write your Majesty a longer Account of this unfortunate but glorious Action. I'll endeavour to make up the Defect to-morrow.

' I have forgotten, perhaps, to speak to your Majesty of the Men and Troops, who distinguish'd themselves as much as those above mention'd; but shall endeavour to make it up to-morrow or next day; and they no less deserve your Majesty's Esteem than the others.

Mr. de St. *Hilaire* played the Artillery perfectly well, and behav'd himself with all possible Courage and Activity during the whole Action, which began at Seven in the Morning, and did not end till Two in the Afternoon. Some Prisoners said, that Prince *Eugene* received a considerable Wound, but this is not certain. I send herewith the Names of the principal General Officers, who, I am told are kill'd or wounded; but I believe there are several others that we are not yet inform'd of.

' I heartily wish Your Majesty may be satisfy'd with my Zeal and good Intentions. I did all that

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that possibly I could to produce more Happy Effects.

I am, S I R, &c.

The Marechal de Boufflers.

Officers kill'd. Messieurs de Chemeraux, Palavicini, de Beuil, de Croni, and Staremborg. Wounded. The Marechal de Villars shot in the Knee. The Duke de Guiche in the Leg. Mr. Albergotti in the Thigh. Mr. de Tournemine's Leg broken and cut off. Mr. de Courcillon's Thigh cut off. Messieurs d' Angennes, de St. Agnan, de Zelt, and de Goadrin.

From the Camp at Quesnoy, Sept. 11. 1709.

Two Days after, the same General wrote the following Letter to his most Christian Majesty.

S I R,

YOUR Majesty may have seen by my Letter of the 11th instant, the unfortunate Success of the Action that happen'd that day; and with how much Glory for your Majesty's Troops and Arms, that Misfortune was attended. I may, in truth, assure you, Sir, that the Glory of that Day is beyond whatever I have said, or can say to your Majesty; who will learn it even from the Enemy's Relations, which cannot sufficiently extol and commend the Boldness, Valour, Firmness, and Obstinacy of your Majesty's Troops, of which they have severely felt the Effects. Instead of owning they have been well beaten, they only acknowledge they bought too dear the Field of Battle, which the Number of their Troops, infinitely Superior, forced us to yield to them. In short, the Series of Misfortunes, which for some years past has befallen your Majesty's Arms had so humbled the French Nation, that one hardly dur'd own himself a French-man: But I dare assure your Majesty,

D d 3

## The Marquess De L — ry's

‘ Majesty, That the French Name was never more in Esteem, nor perhaps more dreaded than it is at present in all the Confederate Army.

‘ Prince Eugene and my Lord Marlborough own, that there were on both sides above 25 or 26000 Men kill’d; at least 18 or 20000 were of theirs, which is unanimously confirmed to me, not only by all such of our Officers, who being Prisoners, have been sent back with much Courtesie, but by several Expresses I have sent into their Army; and even by Mr. Sheldon a Brigadier, who was taken Prisoner near Bossu, doing his Duty, with Valour, at the Head of 400 Horse; and who was in their Army during the Action. Prince Eugene and my Lord Marlborough carried him with them all over the Field of Battel. He tells us, ’twas dreadful to see such a vast Number of dead Bodies, (which, he says, amounted to 15 or 16000) tho’ many of them had already been buried. They speak with Admiration of our fine Retrear, and of its good Disposition, and the Boldness with which it was made. They say, they have acknowledg’d in this Action the Antient Frenchmen, and find they only want to be well Led. The Enemy had in this Action 162 Battallions, and 300 Squadrons, with 120 Pieces of Cannon; so that they were superior by 40 Cannon and 42 Battallions. My Lord Marlborough, and the other General Officers have told Mr. Sheldon, That they hop’d this Action would soon procure a Peace. And he says, he had heard several English Officers, speaking together in their Language, highly commend the Valour that appear’d on our side in this Action; and saying, Since the French have recover’d their Bravery we will now be Friends again. Mr. Sheldon, who will forthwith repair to Versailles, may have the Honour to acquaint your Majesty with several other Particulars, both of what he has seen, and of what he has been told by my Lord Marlborough, who is his good Friend.

‘ The said Lord offer’d Mr. Sheldon all the Money he might desire to assist our Wounded Prisoners; but he accepted only of 50 Pistoles, which he distributed as occasion requir’d. Prince Eugene declares,

clares, that of all the Actions he has seen, none was so sharp, so bloody, nor so obstinate as this. Above all things, they bestow infinite Praises on the Charges your Majesty's Household Troops made; which indeed are beyond Human Nature, and above all Expression.

The Enemy's Army marched yesterday in the Afternoon nearer *Mons*, which they are going to besiege. They reckon this Enterprize will employ them till the latter End of this Month; and that they shall undertake nothing more after this Conquest, both by reason of the advanc'd Season, and because their whole Infantry were defeated and ruined in this Battle. I here subjoin the Account Mr. *Sheldon* has given me of the Loss of the Enemy's Principal Officers, and of the Troops that suffered most.

I could not get the Account of the Number of the Killed and Wounded on our side: I only know, that 'tis very considerable, which it is very difficult to avoid, in such Terrible, Long, and Obstinate Actions. It cost us a great deal; and we cannot but with Concern lament the Loss of so many Brave Men of Merit. But we must account a great Victory, the having Retrieved and Restored the Honour of the Whole Nation.

Your Majesty's whole Army is re-assembled between *Quesnoy* and *Valenciennes*, encamp'd in very good Order in a Line, and very well disposed to begin another Action, if your Majesty's Service should require it: And instead of being cast down, I can assure your Majesty that they look more audacious. The Front of the Camp stretches near 3 Leagues, and is certainly very respectable. As Men who were thought dead come in daily, and therefore I could not get an exact Account of the Kill'd, Wounded or Prisoners, nor consequently the Employments that are vacant, I shall not have the Honour to propose any thing to your Majesty in favour of any Body, nor even to give you an Account of Distinguish'd Actions till I am better acquainted with the whole, which will be as soon as possible.

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*The Marquis De L——* IV's

• The *Maréchal de Villars* has pick'd on the *Mar-*  
quise *de Langle* to carry to your Majesty the Enemies  
Colours and Standards which have been gathered  
up, and which already amount to a pretty good  
Number. The said *Marquis* shew'd to me some  
Reluctancy to accept this Commission, by Reason  
of the Misfortune we are to lose the Field of Bar-  
tie: But this Battle, and our Retreat, have so much  
the Air of a Victory: and the Enemy's prodigious  
Loss looks so like a Defeat that I have persuaded  
him to gratify *Monsieur Villars's* Desire: Nor is my  
Body more capable to give your Majesty a better  
Account than the said *Sieur de Nangis*. Tho' he  
fought only at the Left Wing, he had an entire  
Knowledge of the general Disposition before the  
Action, by Reason his Parts and Military Genius,  
which makes him form true Notions, both of what  
he has seen, and of what has been related to him  
by Creditable Persons.

• I here subjoin the Account of the Quarters which  
I am told the Enemy are to take before *Mons*: As  
soon as I shall have certain Intelligence of their new  
Posture and Disposition, I may perhaps advance  
nearer them, to streighten them in their Subsistence.

• I likewise subjoin here a Letter which *Mr. de Crimaldi*, Governour of *Mons*, writes to the *Marshall de Villars*, by which your Majesty will see he acquaints him, that the Enemy's Left Wing, which was engaged with our Right, was entirely defeated.

• 'Tis certain, that the Enemy suffer'd extremely in this unfortunate but glorious Action.

The Loss of the *French* was never known with certainty, but could not be less than 11 or 12000 Men, kill'd or wounded, as one may easily judge by the following Letter, from an Office of Distinction in their Army, dated from their Camp between *Quefnoy* and *Valenciennes*, Sept. 17. 1709.

• **T**Was the 11th instant, between 7 and 8 a clock in the Morning when the Army of the Allies attack'd

attacked ours with so much Fury, that for an hundred years past there had not been a more bloody Action than that which hapned that day, and will be memorable to all succeeding Ages.

The *English* begun the attack by the Woods of *Sart*, which we had filled with Foot, and perfectly well Intrench'd, but they met not with such Resistance as should have been made, since the Event of the Day depended, much on the Success of that Attack. However, few of those that sustained it, escaped, For, the Enemy were so Fierce and Blood-thirsty, that they hack'd in pieces whatever came in their way, and even Dead Bodies when their Fury found no more Living.

The *Dutch* were not so lucky at our Right, because all our Infantry there did Wonders, and were not forced till after they had defended their Intrenchments for Five full Hours with the most violent Fire.

'Tis certain the Enemy suffer'd extremly on that side; being repulsed, and broken several times: And there it was that Heroical Actions were perform'd.

Neither the Advantage of the Ground, nor three Intrenchments one within another, were able to dishearten our dreadful Enemies, whom we saw advancing, all discover'd, not like Men but Devils. Nor were Discharges of Twenty Pieces of Cannon, that fired directly at once into their Battallions, able to break them, altho' they carry'd off whole Ranks.

Valour shined on our side as much as possible. The Generals did not spare themselves; and gave a good Example to the Troops by a most extraordinary Obstinacy in not yielding the Victory, which we thought to be entirely Ours, when a great Body of the Enemy's Cavalry against the Center of our Army was broke, and routed by the King's Household Troops: But the Enemy's Generals having put themselves at their Head brought them up again to the Charge, with so much Fury that they soon after broke our Center, at the very same time that our Right began to yield to the Efforts of the Enemy's

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my's Left; and ours to be driven from the Intrenchments in the Woods. Hereupon Victory declar'd against us, and we were forc'd to yield to such Terrible Efforts. Never were our Troops seen more animated to do their Duty, nor Disposition better order'd and contriv'd, than that which the Marshals *de Boufflers* and *Villars* made. But when God does not fight with Men, all is to no purpose.

The King ought to be satisfied with his Troops on this occasion. The Enemy did undoubtedly lose the best part of their Infantry, and ours suffer'd extremly. We reckon that we left at least 7000 Dead on the Field of Battel, and we have 10000 Wounded.

We cannot yet dive into the true reason why the Enemy did not shew more Ardour in pursuing us; but 'tis believ'd, it must be the Loss of their Infantry. We did certainly make one of the finest Retreats that was ever made in the Memory of Man, before a victorious Army: But 'tis certain also, that the Enemy gave us all the time for it, and pursued us only for form sake.

This was, however, contrary to our Expectation and Apprehension, since, as I have said before, when the Enemy broke us in the Center between the two Woods, our Army was divided, the Right not being able to join the Left, because the Enemy formed themselves immediately, as far as the Hedges of *Tasnieres*: And 'twas with Reason we feared that the Left would be surrounded, because it was first Broken. It was not above half an hour past Two when the Fight ended, and the Enemy had still a great Part of the Day left: But we made a pretty good use of the time, since before the Sun was down we had already pass'd *Bavay*, and were consequently out of danger.

We then perceived that our Left was not pursued any more than we on the Right, and that the Enemy were entirely satisfied with the Field of Battle. In the mean time we saw all their Horse on the Heights of *Tasnieres*, in the Form of a Crescent, and we were still ignorant of their Design towards 5 a clock: But having sent out for Intelligence, we had

had advice that they halted there. This News gave us indeed a great deal of Joy, since it gave us likewise time to breath.

The Enemy have taken no other Prisoners but the Wounded that could not follow, and those, who being spent retired to *Bayay*. We reckon 1200 Officers wounded, among whom are many of Distinction. The *Marthal de Villars*, who by his extraordinary Valour gained much Glory in this Action, will have much ado to recover; but *Gniche*, *Albergotti*, and several others are safe.

The Troops of the King's Household have lost several Standards, and a pair of Kettle-Drums; but 'tis certain, they have performed whatever could be expected from them. The *Engene's* and *Mariborough's* ought to be very well satisfied with Us during that day, since till then they had not met with Resistance worthy of them. They may say with Justice, that nothing can stand before them. And indeed, what shall be able to stem the rapid Course of those two famous Heroes, if an Army of 100000 Men of the best Troops, posted between two Woods, trebly Intrenched, and performing their Duty as well as any brave Men could do, were not able to stop them, one Day. Will not you own that with me, that they surpass all the Heroes of the past Ages?

Upon the whole matter, those who judged impartially of the Battle were of opinion, that the Allies gained, indeed, a very remarkable and glorious Victory but paid too dear for it; and tho' the *French*, notwithstanding they lost the Field of Battle, recover'd part of their former Reputation, yet their not attempting, afterwards, to relieve *Mons*, as it expos'd their impotence, so did it make it appear, that their loss in the late Action was much greater than they pretended. The Trenches were opened before *Mons* on the 27th of *September*, and the Siege carried on with so much vigour, notwithstanding the Badness of the Weather, that on the 20th of *October* the Garrison beat a Parley, and the next Day surrendred the Town, on honourable Terms. Not many Days after both Armies went into Winter-Quarters.

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The Continental Affairs were not this Year attended with much more success than the last, as in the *Notes* under the last Campaign. The Campaign in the *Low Countries* began very late; and the Army of the Emperor being, as usual, weak, and almost destitute of all its Members. General *Tessé*, who commanded it, was not only defeated at *St. Albans*, but was also in a condition, after to carry on the Project of attacking *Burgundy*, which was timely checked, and disapproved by the Emperor, or to undertake any thing else. Nor was the Elector of *Saxony* more fortunate: for his Electoral Highness having sent a *Prince of Mecklenburg* with a strong Party of Troops to make an Expedition into *Brandenburg*, that General was on the march of *Brandenburg*, N. S. suddenly defeated the Count of *Albani*, and obliged to retire the Army and return to *Brandenburg*, who part of his Army was sent back to the *Rhin*, having been under Arms by order of the Emperor. The *French* having raised through the Territories of *Spain* to invade *Italy*, the *Prince Ambassador in Switzerland* expostulated with the Diet of the *Empire*, assembled at *Basle*, about the Violation of their Neutrality, and even threatened them of *Spain*, with the Effects of his Majesty's Retaliation: But the *Landgrave Hesse* the only one who offered Mediators for the Security of the *Empire*, and of their Borders, that the *Emperor* did not think this a proper Measure to increase the Number of their Enemies, and he contented themselves with sending some the Arms and Revenues belonging to the *Empire* in *Spain*.

The Campaign in *Germany* and *Italy* fell, this Year, much short of Expectation, the Duke of *Savoy* refusing to go into the Field, by reason the Imperial Court turned some Difficulties about *Italy*, and other Dependencies of the *Monarch*, yielded up to his Royal Highness. The Court of *Vienne* invited to have this Difference settled by *Commissions*; but this was opposed by the Duke of *Savoy*, who pretended there was no need of such a lasting Negotiation, to find out the literal Sense of the Treaty concluded upon him by the Emperor, and thereupon made peace with the Queen of *Great Britain*, and

And the States-General, the Guarantees of that Treaty, for the punctual Performance of it. The Maritime Powers, considering with what Firmness and Constancy the Duke of Savoy had adhered to the Grand-Alliance, when reduced to the last Extremity, and what Zeal for the Common Cause he had lately shewn, in rejecting the advantageous Offers that were made him on the part of France, to decoy him to a separate Peace, espoused his Royal Highness's Interest with warmth. But the Emperor insisting on a reference to Commissaries, the Duke of Savoy persisted in his Resolution not to go into the Field, and left the command of the Army to Velt-Mareschal Thaurin, who on the 7th of August went from Turin to Susa, and made the necessary Dispositions to march over Mount Cenis. On the other Hand, the Duke and Marshal of Berwick, who commanded the French Army in Dauphine, had, by this time, caused strong Intrenchments to be cast up to cover Briançon, the Place most threatned by the Confederates, and to defend some other important Posts; so that all Count Thaurin was able to do, was only to oblige the French to abandon their Lines at St. Maurice; force them from those at Fessons; defeat a small Body at Conflans; and make himself Master of the inconsiderable Town and Castle of Annecy, after which for want of Provisions, he was forced to repass the Alps and march into Piedmont towards the End of September. It is to be observ'd, that the Duke of Berwick gain'd the more glory in disappointing the Designs of the Allies, in that, at this very time, part of his Troops were employed in suppressing, in the Vivares, an Insurrection of the Camisars, and other Malecontents, who, on the 19th of August, N. S. maintain'd a sharp Encounter with the French King's Troops, but on the 23d of the same Month were entirely defeated within some Leagues of Vernoux; and 50 of them, with their chief Leader call'd Abraham, being taken Prisoner, the latter was broke alive upon the Wheel; 23 others hanged at several Places; 6 or 7 condemned to the Gallies, and the rest sent Prisoners to Montpelier.

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The *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Armies having taken the Field towards the End of *April*, many Days did not pass before they came to an Engagement; for, on the 7th of *May*, N. S. being both encamped on the *Caya*, and the *Spaniards* making a Motion, with design, either to forage the adjacent Country, or insult the Confederates; the *Portuguese* Generals, contrary to the Earl of *Galway's* Opinion, passed the River with all their Horse, most of the Foot, and some Field Pieces, which they fired with success on the Enemy. Hereupon, the Marquis *de Bay*, who commanded the *Spaniards*, charged the *Portuguese* Horse of the Right Wing, who immediately wheel'd about, and fled without firing one Shot, which gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of seizing the Cannon before mention'd. To recover these, and favour the Retreat of the Body of Foot, which repuls'd the Enemy three times, with great Vigour and Resolution, the Earl of *Galway* brought up himself *Pearce's* Brigade, consisting of the Two *British* Battallions of *Barrimore* and *Stannix*, and one of *Spaniards* lately rais'd, but these Troops not being sustain'd by the *Portuguese* Horse of the Left, who fled like those of the Right, they were intercepted and obliged to surrender Prisoners of War, and with them Major-General *Saukey*, the Earl of *Barrimore*, Brigadier *Pearce*, and the Conde *de San Juan*, a *Portuguese* General. The rest of the *British* Foot under the command of the Marquis *de Montanare*, perform'd Wonders, and with the *Portuguese* Infantry, made a very handsome and orderly Retreat, with the Loss of about 150 Men, so that, excepting the Prisoners, and the other Marks of Victory, which the *Spaniards* gain'd, the latter had no reason to boast of this Action. The Earl of *Galway*, who had a Horse shot under him, very narrowly escap'd being taken; but having found means to get away from the Enemy, with Major *Bladen*, his Secretary, and a few other Officers, his Lordship rode about 4 or 5 Miles, and at last reached the Confederate Army, which that Night arrived at *Aronches*, and the next Day went to encamp at *Elvas*. The Marquis *de Bay* having refreshed his Troops advanc'd towards the Confederates, but the Earl of *Galway*

took such advantageous Posts along the *Guadiana*, that the *Spaniards* durst not attempt either to pass that River, nor to besiege *Olivenza*, into which the *British* General found means to introduce Supplies of Provisions; and the Heats coming on, both Armies went into Quarters of Refreshment; nor did any thing worth notice happen on that side in the Autumn Campaign.

The Rejoycings made at the Court of *Madrid*, upon the easy Victory gained by the *Marquis de Bay* in *Estremadura*, and the Birth of a Second Son to King *Philip*, were soon dash'd both by the Death of that young Prince; and the ill Successes on the Frontiers of *Catalonia*: For General *Starembérg* having passed the *Segra* without opposition, the Night between the 26th and 27th of *August*, N. S. made himself Master of *Balaguer* and *Ager*, and, in the first of those Places, took 900 Men Prisoners. The *Mareschal de Bezons* having refused to second the *Comte de Aguelan*, who was for attacking the Allies. Upon notice of these Transactions King *Philip* set out Post from *Madrid*, and being displeas'd with Monsieur de *Bezons's* Conduct, wrote to him a sharp Letter about it; but when he came to the Army that General justified himself, producing the *French King's* Orders for not venturing his Troops. King *Philip* not judging it advisable to attempt the attacking of Count *Starembérg* in his advantageous Post near *Balaguer*, return'd to *Madrid*, where Cardinal *Portocarrero* died some Days before (*viz.* the 14th of *Sept.*) to the great Regret of that Prince and his Partisans. Not long after, Count *Starembérg* having put a strong Garrison into *Balaguer*, repass'd the *Segra*, and so both Armies went into Winter-Quarters.

Besides the Transactions before mention'd, relating to the Grand Confederacy of *France*: this Year will also be memorable to Posterity for many other signal Events, particularly the Battle fought on the 8th of *July*, N. S. near *Pultova*, between the *Svedes* and *Muscovites*; wherein the latter gain'd a compleat Victory; and three Days after, Prince *Menzikoff* being come up with the broken Remains of the *Swedish* Army, near *Perewolozna*, not far from the Banks of the

1709. the *Borjiskenes*, obliged them to surrender Prisoners of War. The Day before, the King of *Sweden*, who was wounded in the Foot, was prevail'd with to consult his safety, by crossing that River, which he did with general *Meyerfeld*, some other Officers, and about 300 of his Life Guards, and so got safe to *Oxsten*, from whence he retired to *Bender* in the *Tartar* Territories. Here he met with a Kind and *Polite* Reception: But the Accounts we have since received from *Constantinople* about that Prince, are so various and uncertain, that we are still in doubt whether he be dead or alive.

The entire Defeat of the *Swedes* occasioned great Alterations in the *North*: For King *Stanislaus* having thereby lost his principal, or indeed, his only Support, King *Augustus* put out a Manifesto, asserting his Right to the Crown of *Poland*, and soon after, marched into that kingdom, where he had an Interview with the Czar. On the other Hand, the King of *Denmark* improved this fair opportunity to revenge the Injuries and Affronts he pretended to have received from the *Swedes*, and having also publish'd a Manifesto, wherein he set forth his Reasons for declaring War against them, invaded the Province of *Schonen* about the middle of *November*, having found no resistance on his Landing at *Helisburgh*. He fixed there his Head-Quarters; but the Cold Season not permitting him to undertake the Siege of *Landskroon*, he dispos'd his Troops into Winter Quarters, and on the 4th of *December*, N. S. returned to *Copenhagen*.

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